ABSTRACT

Title of Document: THE ARTIFICE OF ETERNITY: A STUDY OF LITURGICAL AND THEATRICAL PRACTICES IN BYZANTIUM

Andrew Walker White, Doctor of Philosophy, 2006

Directed By: Professor Franklin J. Hildy, Theatre and Professor Emeritus George P. Majeska, History

This study attempts to fill a substantial gap in our knowledge of theatre history by focusing on the Orthodox ritual aesthetic and its relationship with traditional theatrical practice in the Eastern Roman Empire – also known as Byzantium. Through a review of spatial practices, performance aesthetics and musical practice, and culminating in a case study of the Medieval *Office of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace*, this dissertation attempts to demonstrate how the Orthodox Church responded to the theatre, and determine whether the theatre influenced the development of its ritual aesthetic. Because of the well-documented *rapprochement* between church and theatre in the west, this study also tries to determine whether there was a similar reconciliation in the Orthodox east.

From the Early Byzantine period onward, conduct of the Orthodox Liturgy was rooted in a ritual aesthetic that avoided direct imitation or representation. This Orthodox ritual aesthetic influenced every aspect of the Liturgy, from iconography to

chant to liturgical dance, and involved a rejection of practices that, in the Church's view, would draw too much attention to the material or artistic aspects of ritual. Theatrical modes of representation were consistently avoided and condemned as anathema. Even in the Middle Ages, when Catholics began to imitate Jesus at the altar and perform representations of biblical episodes using actors, realistic settings and special effects, Orthodox hierarchs continued to reject theatrical modes of performance.

One possible exception to this rule is a Late Byzantine rite identified by western scholars as a "liturgical drama" – the *Office of the Three Children*. But a detailed reconstruction of its performance elements reveals that it was quite different in its aesthetics from Medieval Catholic practice. Some of the *Office*'s instructions, however, lend themselves to a theatrical interpretation; and the instability of the *Office*'s manuscript tradition, as seen in five extant versions, reveals strong disagreements about whether and how to include many of its key visual and musical elements.

THE ARTIFICE OF ETERNITY: A STUDY OF LITURGICAL AND THEATRICAL PRACTICES IN BYZANTIUM

By

Andrew Walker White

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2006

Advisory Committee:
Professor Franklin J. Hildy, Theatre, Chair
Professor Emeritus George P. Majeska, co-Chair
Professor John B. Fuegi
Professor Denis F. Sullivan
Professor Elizabeth A. Fisher

Preface

In late February 2004, Mel Gibson's film *The Passion of the Christ* premiered in Athens to mixed reviews. Objections to the film, however, had less to do with its violence (which the Greeks, along with many American critics, found excessive) than with theological objections to the entire premise behind its production. One critic, writing for the popular newspaper *Kathimerini*, characterized Gibson's *Passion* as two hours of unrelenting torture and said: "One wonders why Gibson chose sadistic realism – bordering on the grotesque – to tell a story that is clearly symbolic."[1] Archbishop Christodoulos, the head of the Orthodox Church in Greece, made more explicit the problem many Orthodox viewers had with the film:

> It is not the goal of the Passion to prompt or stir the imagination and emotions, so as to ignite hostility against people who took part in Jesus' sufferings. The goal of the Passion is to confront ourselves, and our sins . . . I think if we limit ourselves to [feeling] the emotions the film incites, we won't get what we're looking for.[2]

Given that realistic, theatrical representations of the sacred have long been accepted in the west, it may be surprising to encounter objections to it, among Christians, at the dawn of the twenty-first century. But both the *Kathimerini*'s film critic and Archbishop Christodoulos speak to the endurance of Orthodoxy's anti-theatrical ritual aesthetic.

---

[1] See *Kathimerini Greek Edition*, 26 February 2004, accessed April 10, 2006, http://www.ekathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_civ_1_26/02/2004_95040.

[2] Ἐλευθεροτυπία, 26 February 2004, accessed May 23, 2006, http://www.enet.gr/online/online_text/c=113,dt=26.02.2004,id=4069276. For a partial English translation see *The Orthodox Christian News Service*, 28 February, 2004, accessed May 23, 2006, http://www.orthodoxnews.netfirms.com/109/GREEK%20ARCHBISHOP.htm. The Orthodox Christian News Service article characterizes Christodoulos as an arch-conservative and a nationalist, but the reaction among Orthodox clergy in the United States was essentially the same. See *Greek Orthodox Diocese of America*, February 27, 2004, accessed October 28, 2004, http://www.goarch.org/en/news/NewsDetail.asp?printit=yes&id=1084.

This anti-theatrical aesthetic, largely ignored or misunderstood in the West, calls into question past assumptions about the origins of sacred drama in the Eastern Roman Empire, otherwise known as Byzantium – the Empire where Orthodox Christianity first took shape. Perhaps in part because of Byzantium's vital role in preserving the dramatic literature of Antiquity, generations of western scholars have maintained (despite a lack of evidence) that the Orthodox Church shared the Catholic's taste for sacred plays. Western assumptions about the universality of their own theatrical impulses have led to the creation of what Walter Puchner calls a "ghost chapter" on the sacred drama in the Eastern Roman Empire.[3] This "ghost chapter" has persisted in some circles, in spite of Orthodoxy's consistent rejection of realism as an obstacle to prayerful devotion, and its emphasis on symbolic and spiritual discursive practice. This privileging of symbolic discourse, in turn, can be traced back to the Eastern Church's earliest period of development in Byzantium.

The chief purpose of the present study will be to lay out a detailed response to a question that has nagged theatre historians for generations: did Byzantium – and more specifically, the Orthodox Church – ever develop a sacred drama of its own? Because the answer is complex, founded as it is in a unique aesthetic of ritual performance, the emphasis here will be on the subtle, multi-layered symbolic interpretations of scripture and ritual which came to predominate in the Eastern Empire.

---

[3] See Walter Puchner, "Acting in the Byzantine theatre: Evidence and Problems," in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Pat Easterling and Edith Hall, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 306. For an example of this "ghost chapter" see especially Margot Berthold, *The History of the World Theater: From the Beginnings to the Baroque* (New York: Continuum, 1999), 210-227. For a more sober approach see Oscar G. Brockett and Franklin J. Hildy, *History of the Theatre*, 9th ed. (New York: Allyn and Bacon, 2003), 65-68.

The differences between eastern and western Christianity are evident from the moment you step into a typical Orthodox church: Jesus looks down from his lofty perch in the central dome fully clothed, serene, and (by virtue of his placement at the highest point in the nave's interior) in charge. This spiritual vision of Christ, in his aspect as *Pantocrator*, "All-powerful," contrasts sharply with the western emphasis on the physical, 'all-suffering' Christ, which was reinforced throughout the Middle Ages in vividly-staged versions of the Passion. Christ's suffering, while understood as an important part of salvation history, is largely absent from the Orthodox iconographical scheme.[4] The area above the sanctuary, where western churches usually place a three-dimensional, sculpted Christ on the cross, features a serene Virgin Mary holding the baby Jesus in her lap instead; the overall impression is one of spiritual presence and transcendence, not suffering or guilt.[5]

When viewed at ground-level, however, the traditional Orthodox sanctuary appears to tell a different and more earthly story. Modern Greek churches feature a *templon* screen, a one-story high wall of icons set between columns and punctuated by three sets of doors. This screen's superficial resemblance to an ancient stage-front has led some popular writers to over-interpret the Orthodox sanctuary as a theatre,

---

[4] One possible exception is the *epitaphion*, an embroidered cloth featuring the image of a dead Christ and placed in a symbolic tomb or sepulcher during modern Orthodox Easter-week services. But available evidence indicates the cloth was an innovation that did not reach its fullest development until the sixteenth century, i.e., after Byzantium's fall. The most common theory is that the *epitaphion* was of monastic origin (see Robert A. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfor of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1978), 216-219). The sepulcher, on the other hand, is so recent that it is not even mentioned in the Greek instructions for Easter Week; it is only included in the English translation (see the services for Holy Friday in *Greek Orthodox Holy Week & Easter Services: A New English Translation*, trans. Fr. George L. Papadeas (South Daytona, FL: 1999), 358-409).

[5] Orthodox sanctuaries include an apse, or semi-cylindrical architectural space, which juts out of the eastern side of the nave; the Virgin and child occupy the half-dome at the top of the apse.

and the Divine Liturgy as a drama.[6] In his recent book, "The Theatre in Byzantium," Marios Ploritis juxtaposed images of a Hellenistic theatre and an Orthodox *templon* screen as evidence that the latter derives its spatial practices from the former.[7]

As we shall see, this populist approach to church architecture masks a more complex history, and one that ultimately makes Ploritis' theory untenable. Another problem with approaches like Ploritis' is that the perception of similar structures in theatrical and ritual performance can be illusory. In her critique of contemporary performance theory, Catherine Bell points out the limitations inherent in regarding ritual and theatre as related genres:

> The comparison of ritual to all sorts of dramatic spectacles or structured improvisation effectively demonstrates shared features and similar processes. At the same time, such comparisons often result in simply describing one unknown in terms of another, and fail to account for the way in which most cultures see important distinctions between ritual and other types of activities.[8]

Although drama and the theatre provide valuable tools for analysis of ritual, there is the risk that the tool will be mistaken for the phenomenon itself – studies of "the church-*as*-theatre" becoming misconstrued as statements that "the church *is* a theatre."

Another goal of this study, then, will be to examine points of agreement and disagreement between theatrical and ritual practices in the Eastern Roman Empire. Past accounts of theatre and drama in Byzantium, rooted as they have been in western theories of ritual-to-theatre cultural development or vague notions of cultural

---

[6] This 'theatrical' reading of the sanctuary applies equally, if not more so, to the *iconostasis*, a wall of multiple tiers of saints that fronts the sanctuary in Russian Orthodox churches. The resemblance between the *iconostasis* and the Roman *scenae frons* appears self-evident.

[7] See Marios Ploritis, *Το Θέατρο στο Βυζάντιο* (Theatre in Byzantium). Athens: Ἐκδόσεις Καστανιώτη, 1999), 160-162.

[8] Catherine Bell, *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 76.

continuity,[9] have failed to account for the ways in which Orthodox ritual established a presence that was distinct from the theatrical culture in which it operated. Orthodox clergy consistently treated the theatre as an anti-type, and for all the visual and aural splendor of the Divine Liturgy, the Church's ritual aesthetic shows signs of a consistent anti-theatrical bias.

A clean, chronological narrative of theatre and Orthodox ritual in Byzantium would be difficult to assemble: although a history of the Byzantine Liturgy is nearly complete,[10] the evidence for Byzantine theatre and drama is too fragmented and contradictory to allow for such an approach.[11] Accordingly, the present study will proceed by topic areas – exploring spatial practices, performance practice as well as the origins and aesthetics of Orthodox chant – culminating in a detailed analysis of a unique Byzantine rite, the *Office of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace*. This Medieval rite has been regarded -- by Medieval western eyewitnesses and modern scholars alike – as a kind of Orthodox sacred drama;[12] but there is evidence that the *Office*'s authors regarded it as a ritual. By incorporating key findings from the preceding topical studies, the analysis of the *Office* will try to account for the variety of interpretations that have developed around it, as well as the significant disagreements among the its five extant versions.

---

[9] For the ritual-to-theatre theory see George La Piana, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Litteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al Secolo IX, con Rapporti al Teatro Sacro d'Occidente* (Sacred Representations in Byzantine Literature from its Origins to the Ninth Century, in Relation to the Western Sacred Theatre) (Grotteferrata: "St.Nilo," 1912); for continuity theory see Venetia Cottas, *Le Théâtre à Byzance* (Theatre in Byzantium) (Paris: Paul Guenther, 1931).
[10] The Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies has overseen the publication of a projected six-volume series on the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom; the fifth volume, Fr. Robert F. Taft's history of the Precommunion Rites, was published in 2000.
[11] See Walter Puchner, "Acting in the Byzantine theatre," 304-324.
[12] See Miloš Velimirović's seminal study "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962), 351-385.

Dedication

To my wife, Laura, and my son, Ian.

Acknowledgements

This undertaking, unusually large in its scope, would not have been possible without the guidance and encouragement of many people, and I would like to express my gratitude to a number of them here: first, to Patti P. Gillespie, who first urged me to have a look at the Eastern Empire; to George Majeska, whose patient guidance throughout the years has had a great impact on my work; to Catherine Schuler, who (along with Dr. Gillespie) tried to make a disciplined scholar out of me – I leave it to the reader to judge whether they succeeded in this impossible task.

In the course of my research I had the opportunity to study in Greece and Turkey for a year through a grant from the Fulbright Foundation; special thanks are due to Artemis Zenadou and Nicholas Tourides at the Fulbright office in Athens, to Stephen Tracy and the staff at the American School for Classical Studies, and especially to Dr. Iosef Vivilakes of the University of Athens, whose work on Byzantine theatre and Orthodox ritual has been so influential on my own.

During my year abroad, I also received permission to take photographic studies in several key sites as a part of my efforts to reconstruct the aesthetics and performances of the *Office of the Three Children*. I am grateful to the curator of the Hagia Sophia Museum in Istanbul, as well as the 5th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities of Sparta and the 9th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Thessalonica, for allowing me to create an important photographic record as a part of the present study.

Table of Contents

Preface ii
Dedication vii
Acknowledgements viii
Table of Contents ix
List of Figures xi
Part I: Studies in Byzantine Space and Performance 1
Chapter 1: Spatial Practices in Byzantium 1
Readings of Theatrical Spaces in Early Byzantium 1
The Creation of the Secular Sphere 10
The Christianization of the Pagan City 14
Stational Liturgies: Pagan, Imperial and Christian 15
Church Architecture in Context 22
Christianizing Civic Space: the Church-Basilica and the Sanctuary Apse 24
From Transparency to *Templon* Screen 28
The Tripartite Sanctuary 29
Summary: Early Byzantine Spatial Practices 35
Iconography, Optics, and Subjectivity 37
Summary 44
Chapter 2: Ritual vs. Theatrical Performance in Byzantium 46
Introduction: Jesus as Performance Theorist 46
The Divine Liturgy: Ritual or Drama? 51
Drama as if Aristotle Mattered 53
Early rites: Suppers, Readings & Enactments 54
Sanctuary and *Synthronon*, *Solea* and *Ambo* 56
The Art of the Homily 59
New Spatial Strategies: the Small and Great Entrances 62
The Mystical Supper: Commemoration vs. Representation 64
Representation vs. *Epiclesis*: The Conflict over Ritual Aesthetics 73
Summary: The Liturgy vs. the Drama 75
Sainted Mimes and Orthodox Theologies of Acting 78
Introduction: On the Imitation of Christ for Cheap Laughs 78
On Martyrology 81
On Baptism 83
On Baptism by Kids, Heretics, Drunkards and Mimes 85
Summary 89
Chapter 3: Musical Practices in Byzantium 92
Introduction 92
Agon and Innovation 94
Modes, Tunings, and Notation 95
Order from Chaos: Nomoi, Mese, Modulation and Ethos. 105
Byzantine Hymnography & Ancient Music Theory: Parallel Universes 109
Theology as Theory: Pseudo-Dionysius on Music 112

Psellos, Mesarites, and the Graeco-Byzantine Revival 114
Late Byzantine Reform & Theory 117
Pachymeres, Bryennius and the Grand Reunion........ 117
Koukouzeles' Reforms, and the Hesychast Movement 123
Part II: A Study of the Office of the Three Children 131
Introduction........ 131
Chapter 4: Origins of the *Office*........ 136
Daniel and its Context........ 136
The Three Children in Hymnography........ 140
The Three Children: an Iconographical Survey........ 146
Chapter 5: The *Office*'s Historical Context 155
Eyewitness Accounts 155
Ignatius of Smolensk........ 155
Bertrandon de la Broquière........ 157
Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica........ 160
Summary: On Braids and Spirals........ 168
A Politico-Theological Context for the Office 170
Chapter 6: The Office of the Three Children in Performance 176
Texts and Textual Strategies........ 176
Preparations and Orthros........ 181
The Furnace 181
The Angel........ 183
The Children 186
Orthros 188
The Office in Performance........ 194
Introduction: On the Office-as-Drama........ 194
Voices 195
Choreography, Spectacle & Controversy 208
Conclusion 218
Appendix 1: The Office of the Three Children, Athens 4027 223
Appendix 2: The Office of the Three Children, Athens 2406 234
Appendix 3: The Office of the Three Children, Iviron 1120........ 239
Appendix 4: The Office of the Three Children, Sinai 1527 242
Appendix 5: The Office of the Three Children, Lavra 165 244
Appendix 6: Archbishop Symeon's Dialogue in Christ 248
Appendix 7: The Russian Furnace Play........ 254
Glossary 262

List of Figures

Figure **Page**

1. Early Byzantine Sanctuary …………………………………………………. 25
2. Front and Top View of the *Synthronon* ……………………….…………… 26
3. Sanctuary Layout for Hagia Sophia ………………………….…………….. 27
4. Floor Plan for the Great Entrance in Hagia Sophia ………………………... 31
5. Names for Notes/Strings in the "Lower" Greek tetrachord ……………….….. 97
6. The Three Modal Genera ……………………….……………………….. 97
7. Disjunct and Conjunct Tetrachords ……………………………………… 100
8. The Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems ………………………………… 102
9. The Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems in English ……………………..... 103
10. Sketch of the Three Children from Mistras ……………………………..... 150
11. Fresco of the Three Children from Mistras ……………………………...... 150
12. South sanctuary wall in Peribleptos monastery ………………………….... 151
13. Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica at Dawn …………………………………... 192
14. Floor plan for Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica ……………………………... 193
15. Floor plan for Hagia Sophia in Constantinople ……………...................... 194

Part I: Studies in Byzantine Space and Performance

Chapter 1: Spatial Practices in Byzantium

Readings of Theatrical Spaces in Early Byzantium

Although modern secular scholars may view Rome's open-ended policy on religion with suspicion, it remained a defining force in Republican and Imperial circles, and lay at the heart of the creation of the later Christian Empire. Even Rome's foreign subjects, cynical about their rulers' motives, recognized the policy's usefulness; as early as the second century BCE, the Greek historian Polybius grudgingly admitted that Rome's official policy of welcoming and encouraging the institution of new cults – he calls it *deisidaimonia* – had its virtues.[1]

Religious identities and rites were understood to be fluid, and subject to constant mediation and revision at even the local community level. This fluidity enabled Romans to extend a sort of theological citizenship to foreign gods as their cults appeared within the Empire's borders; state funding for religion meant that all officially recognized cults could expect donations of temples, properties, and salaries for their priests. The last pagan Emperor, Julian "The Apostate" (361-363 CE), explained the Empire's embrace of all religious cults in this way:

> Our theologians say that the creator of everything is the common father and king, but the remaining functions have been distributed

[1] See Polybius, *History* 6.56.6-9, as found in David S. Potter, "Roman Religion: Ideas and Actions," in *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*, David S. Potter and D. J. Mattingly, eds. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 120. Potter renders *deisidaimonia* negatively as "superstition," but its more general meaning is "god-fearing." See Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., rev. Sir Henry Stuart Jones (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), s.v. "*δεισιδαιμονία.*"

> among national gods and guardian deities of cities, each of whom governs their own allotment according to their nature . . .[2]

Civic paganism, in Julian's formulation, assumes a single origin for all things, but also assumes that the 'common father' manifests himself in myriad ways: hence the delegation of divine authority to local divinities, coupled with the belief that specific gods took a personal interest in a community's good fortune. This understanding of divine immanence lay at the heart of the Roman system of social, ritual and civic practices.[3]

Civic authorities routinely worked with priests and augurs to reform a city's rites and observances, to ensure a community's compliance with the ever-changing demands of the divine. And the theatre was the pivot upon which many of the most important festivals turned.[4] These same civic authorities – who sometimes did double-duty as priests – were also expected to take financial responsibility for the erection and renovation of the theatres, and funding for festivals.[5] These acts of generosity, in turn, became a permanent part of the city's physical infrastructure through commemorative inscriptions. With the establishment or revision of a

---

[2] Julian, "Against the Galileans," 115D, as translated by Elizabeth Geraldine Burr in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, Richard Valantasis ed., (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 148-149.
[3] See Potter, "Roman Religion," 125-134 for a recent discussion on *pietas* and *impietas*.
[4] See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*, 61-63, for a description of the *pompē* associated with the City (Great) Dionysia, an earlier template for festivals to be discussed below.
[5] Eric Csapo and William J. Slater (*The Context of Ancient Drama* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 50) cite priests of the imperial cult who either build or renovate theatres. In the city of Aphrodisias a former servant of Augustus, Caius Julius Zoilos, founded a temple to the imperial cult, became priest of the city's protectress Aphrodite, and dedicated a stone *logeion* and *proscenion* for its theatre in the late first century BCE. On Zoilos' career see R. R. R. Smith, *The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1993), 4-13.

festival, detailed information concerning its conduct and funding sources could also be found carved into the theatre's retaining walls.[6]

The theatres of the Eastern Roman Empire, when considered together with the city centers in which they were built, speak to the symbiosis of three key elements that now tend to be treated in isolation from each other: the exercise of imperial and civic ideology; the display of theatrical artistry; and an all-embracing theology that positioned these spectacles in a divine hierarchy, in which all Roman citizens took part. As Richard Beacham puts it:

> Visually, emotionally, and psychologically, by means of the spectacle a close synthesis could be established between the state and public values. Thus the ordinary spectators' perception was modulated by and through the presence of a group of important mortal and divine guests as well as by the evocative setting of the entertainments.[7]

A trip to the theatre in a typical Roman city involved an elaborate procession with images of divinity and civic institutions that reinforced notions of the city as a site favored by the gods. Beginning in a pre-selected *temenos* or sacred precinct, the *pompa* wended its way through the city with carefully choreographed stops at related sacred sites for sacrifices (i.e., meals) and prayers, ending at the theatre itself.

As Tertullian (ca. 160-220) went to great pains to remind his catechumens, the theatre was defined as much by what went on before and around it, as it was by what

[6] The walls supporting the *cavea* of theatres like those at Delphi, Ephesus and Aphrodisias often became an archive for civic foundations. See Guy MacLean Rogers, *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 198 for an artist's rendering of the placement of an early second-century CE foundation -- as found along the stage right wall of the *parodos*.
[7] Richard Beacham, *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 27.

actually happened on on-stage.[8] Guy Rogers, in his study of the donation of a civic benefactor in Ephesus, Caius Vibius Salutaris, has demonstrated how theatre processions – featuring statuettes of sculptures that had probably already been installed in the *scenae frons* – enabled the community to perform its sacred identity, in alignment with its contemporary political loyalties.[9]

Chief among Salutaris' gifts to the city was a series of thirty-one statues and personifications – *eikones* and *apeikones* – of solid silver donated for processional use.[10] The images run the gamut from the goddess Artemis in her many aspects to the Roman Imperial family, from the city's founding fathers to personifications of various civic organizations. Salutaris proposed that these images be carried along Ephesus' traditional *via sacra*, or sacred processional route, from the suburban temple of Artemis to the theatre at the commencement of festivals throughout the year.[11] On each occasion the participants, upon arrival at the theatre, would spread throughout

[8] Tertullian, *De Spectaculis* 7.2-3; see *Tertullian: Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works*, Rudolph Arbesmann, Emily Joseph Daly, and Edwin A. Quain, trans. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1977), 65.

[9] Until Emperor Caracalla's grant of universal Roman citizenship (ca. 211-217), there was a distinction in Asia Minor between native-born Greeks and those who achieved Roman status – and Roman status may have been a prerequisite for certain kinds of donations. It appears that Salutaris was Roman by birth, but there is room for disagreement: or an argument in favor of Salutaris' Roman origins see Michael L. White, "Urban Development and Social Change in Imperial Ephesos," in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, Helmut Koester, ed. (Valley Forge, PA: Harvard Theological Studies, 1995), 62-63. For an argument favoring Salutaris' Ephesian (i.e., Greek) origins see Kieter Knibbe, "*Via Sacra Ephesiaca*: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia," in *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia*, 154). Rogers points out that before Caracalla's time 'dual citizenship' was not out of the ordinary (*Sacred Identity*, 19).

[10] See Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 84-5, for a list of statues, and 117 n. 15 for a discussion of the meaning of the term *eikon* in this context. The term *apeikon*, rendered by Rogers as "type-statues," appears to designate specific aspects or poses of Artemis (Artemis as "Torch-bearer," holding bowls, etc.), which were designated for use by specific civic organizations or tribes.

[11] For a brief history of Ephesus' sacred processional route, see Kieter Knibbe, "*Via Sacra Ephesiana*," 141-155. Both Artemis' temple and this route, which made a ring around Mount Pion, existed before Ephesus was founded, and the road originally traced out an ancient necropolis; the original function of the procession in pre-Ephesian times was to invoke Artemis' protection over the dead ("*Via Sacra Ephesiana*," 142).

the *cavea*, sit in their assigned seats and install Salutaris' statues on strategically placed bases.[12]

With the *scenae frons* already decorated by permanent, marble equivalents of the portable statues now installed around the *cavea*, this act of communal *katheirōsis* ("consecration" or "dedication") enabled the city to participate directly in the sanctification of a performance space already charged with divinity. By design there was no separation between the city's patron goddess, deified emperors, tribes, fraternal organizations, and honored mortals past or – in the case of Salutaris – present.[13] The theatre was a multivalent site, and the motley assembly of statue-spectators installed in the *cavea* reflected this combination of the secular, sacred, and artistic.

Although Salutaris provides us with a complete catalogue of processional statuary and some sense of their placement in the cavea of Ephesus' theatre, establishing similar catalogues and positions for sculpture in the theatre's *scenae frons* remains a speculative exercise. In a recent study of the sculpture program at the second-century theatre in Corinth, Mary Sturgeon gives a detailed account of one such ideological program.[14] Sturgeon reconstructs the scenic building as beginning at stage level with a row of Greek gods, topped on the second level by figures from Rome's first imperial family – the Augusti. The third and highest level featured emperor Hadrian, associated ideologically with Dionysus and the local Corinthian

---

[12] Salutaris' inscription mentions nine inscribed bases, which marked pre-arranged seating blocks for the procession's participants (Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 162-163).
[13] The above-mentioned list of Salutaris' statues (Rogers, *Sacred Identity*, 84-85) and their distribution imply that civic groups mingled sacred and "secular" statues on the same plinths.
[14] Mary Sturgeon, *Sculpture: The Assemblage from the Theater* (Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004).

favorite Hercules. The overall impression was unambiguous: the emperor aligned himself with the Greek gods and assumed their endorsement of his reign.[15] Although usually associated with theatres, the *scenae frons* was actually a medium used in a variety of civic contexts, from libraries to houses of the imperial cult.[16]

Given the diversity of elements in theatres like Corinth, however, the question arises: just how unified were these elements in the minds of their audiences? Spatial theorist Henri LeFebvre would stress the unity of the experience,[17] but a close reading of Greek and Roman commentaries on the mimetic arts indicates that it was possible for Hadrian's contemporaries to distinguish sculpture's aesthetic, political and religious elements.

Jean-Pierre Vernant describes the cultural process that resulted in the creation of a consciously mimetic art as one that proceeded from crude beginnings in private, household *koanon* or "idols" and culminated in displays of *eikones* – "images" both flat and sculpted, in temples and other public places.[18] With the institution of the temple – and through its sculptural program the concept of gods-as-spectacle – comes an understanding of mimetic art that is at once theological and technical. Depicting a god or goddess in human form also involved an abstract valorization of the human body:

> If religious symbolism is directed toward the human body and reproduces its appearance, it is because it sees there the expression of certain aspects of the

---

[15] Sturgeon, *Sculpture*, 29-40 & Plans III & IV

[16] Sturgeon, *Sculpture*, 38-40.

[17] See Henri LeFebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 241. LeFebvre appears to deny that Greeks could experience the arts aesthetically, insisting that performances were perceived "in an unmediated fashion."

[18] Jean-Pierre Vernant, "From the "Presentification" of the Invisible to the Imitation of Appearance," in *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*, Froma Zeitlin ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 151-163. Vernant's scenario follows closely that of Eusebius of Caesaria's fourth century CE study, *Preparation for the Gospel*, addressed below.

> divine . . . What we call physical qualities can then appear to Greek religious consciousness as "values" that transcend the human, as "powers" of divine origin.[19]

This reading of the human body as a signifier was what made it possible for Plutarch to assume that Pheidias' gold-and-ivory statue of Athena in the Parthenon, for example, marked off a sacred space. But this did not prevent him from discussing the political nature of Pheidias' appointment to execute the statue, his design of removable gold elements (so that they could be weighed, to prevent theft or vandalism) as well his depiction of himself and Pericles on Athena's shield.[20]

Complexity of interpretation, then, has a long pedigree; likewise the words used to define it. As Gerald Else has pointed out, already by the fifth century BCE a cluster of terms connoting imitation had found an umbrella in the word *mimesis*, which had come to signify a broad field of endeavors. The verb *mimeisthai* appears to have been used initially (in places like Sicily, birthplace of the mime-poet Sophron) to refer specifically to acts of mimicry – copying or enacting someone's sounds or gestures. But by Plato's time this verb and its related words had come to connote other more abstract forms of imitation.[21] The chief contribution of the *Republic* to this already-evolving concept was to confirm the linguistic trend of using

---

[19] Vernant, "Presentification," 159 & 161.
[20] See Plutarch, *Life of Perikles* 31; see H. Stuart Jones, ed., *Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1966), 73-99. Like its imagery, the Parthenon's function was complex; as Athena's temple, it was also a repository for offerings made to the goddess – and with its status as a repository came its secondary function as a treasury. On the continuity of this tradition in Roman times see Ian M. Barton, "Religious Buildings," in *Roman Public Buildings*, I. M. Barton, ed. (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter, 1989), 68 & 79.
[21] Gerald Else, ""Imitation" in the Fifth Century," *Classical Philology* 53.2 (1958), 79. Else finds three distinct uses of *mimesthai* and related terms in circulation by the time Plato was born (87).

the term *mimesis* to describe paintings and sculpture, as well as epic and dramatic poetry.[22]

Plato's deconstruction of mimetic crafts confirmed that Greeks were well aware of the disproportion between art and the sacred. It fell upon his pupil Aristotle to correct the *Republic*'s caricature of *mimesis* as a frivolous product of the *fantasia* or imagination. Aristotle pointed out that in sculpture, as well as drama, great artists do not merely copy from nature but can present people nobler or more debased than they would be in real life.[23] Implied in Aristotle's characterization is the assumption that other, higher functions of the brain were involved in the mimetic arts.

By the Early Byzantine period the prevailing theory of sacred art was Neo-Platonic, i.e., a fusion of Aristotelian and Platonic notions of *mimesis* that avoided confusion between divinity and an image, but which nevertheless proposed a dynamic relationship between the two. Plotinus (205-270 CE) was among those who posited a grand, mystical chain of being that encompassed all forms seen and unseen, aesthetic and intellectual, with a mystical unitary Being at the top.[24] As expressed by his pupil, Porphyry (ca. 233-305), sculpture was the means by which an artist manifested this unity by teaching viewers about the gods. The philosopher's job, therefore, was to teach others how to read the artist's work:

> The thoughts of a wise theology, wherein man indicated God and God's powers by images akin to sense, and sketched invisible things in visible forms,

[22] Else, "Imitation," 85.
[23] See for example Aristotle, *Poetics*, ed. and trans. Stephen Halliwell, Loeb Classical Library 199 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 33-35.
[24] For a summary of Plotinus's approach see for example Johannes Geffcken, *The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism*, trans. Sabine MacCormack (New York: North-Holland, 1978), 49-52.

> I will show to those who have learned to read from statues as from books the things there written concerning the gods.[25]

Statues were like books, and as books they required tutors to teach the young how to read them properly; and Porphyry regarded himself as eminently qualified for the job. Then as now, there were questions about the validity of such pious aesthetic babble, consisting as it usually did of subjective, poorly annotated ramblings from a state-salaried rhetor. But Porphyry anticipates this doubt and, in a typical academic maneuver, dismisses his critics as imbeciles.[26]

This approach did not exactly endear teachers like Porphyry to the emerging Christian elite, who often studied under them at university. In his *Preparation for the Gospel* the classically-trained Eusebius of Caesaria, whose career bridges that of Porphyry and Constantine the Great (the emperor who legalized Christianity and became its sponsor), deconstructs the pagan intellectual tradition that had developed around statues and their readings.

Eusebius' attack on normative readings of pagan statuary was designed as a direct response to the mystical aesthetics of Plotinus and Porphyry. He regarded the gods of the pagan pantheon as false demons, who drew the mind away from the truth; for Eusebius, the concept of theological sculpture was absurd:

> What likeness can a human body have to the mind of God? For my part I think there is nothing in it answering to the mind of man, since the one is incorporeal, uncompounded, and without parts, while the other, being the work of common mechanics, is the imitation of the nature of a mortal body,

---

[25] As quoted in Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel*, trans. Edwin Hamilton Gifford (Oxford: Clarendon House, 1903; reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981), 106. Eusebius, scrupulous in his quotations of pagan writers, is the only source for Porphyry's works on statues. The author would like to thank Dr. Jeremy Schott of Duke University for this reference.

[26] "Nor is it any wonder that the utterly unlearned regard the statues as wood and stone, just as also those who do not understand the written letters look upon the monuments as mere stones, and on the tablets as bits of wood, and on books as woven papyrus." (Eusebius, *Preparation*, 106).

> and represents a deaf and dumb image of living flesh in lifeless and dead matter.[27]

The reference to the "mind of man" here reflects Eusebius' grafting of the Genesis creation myth onto the Roman (pagan) body. For Eusebius, it is the mind and soul of man that were created in the image of God, not man's mortal flesh. And if *this* image of God – the mind of man – is invisible and inexpressible, "who would be so mad," he concludes, "as to declare that the statue made in the likeness of [physical] man bears the form and image of the Most High God?"[28] Eusebius' critique, however, is not directed at the aesthetic quality of mimetic art so much as its alleged theological content. Even when deconstructed, statues had their aesthetic value and could be appreciated by the Christian connoisseur as cultural objects.

The Creation of the Secular Sphere

The success of Eusebius' arguments can be found in a series of imperial edicts issued during the fourth and fifth centuries CE.[29] The first one hundred years of the Byzantine Empire saw disagreements among succeeding emperors on whether (and how) to de-sanctify pagan temples and statues, and what to do about the theatrical games associated with them – for they all remained part of the same imperial cultural system.[30] In the end, Early Byzantine emperors decided to preserve certain aspects of pagan culture even as the Empire officially changed its spirituality.

---

[27] Eusebius, *Preparation* 115. Here, Eusebius is responding to Porphyry's reading of a sculpture of Zeus (*Preparation*, 109-110), which relates the statue's physical details to the god's essential traits.
[28] Eusebius, *Preparations* 116.
[29] The following analysis draws primarily upon edicts from the Theodosian Code's Book 16, Chapter 10, "Pagans, Sacrifices and Temples," dating from 341- 435 CE. See *The Theodosian Code*, trans. Clive Pharr (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952), 472-475.
[30] For a concise account of this critical period see A. A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire 324-1453* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 65-83.

So pivotal was the theatre during this period that it helped to preserve pagan temples and their sculpture: one year after the first extant ban on pagan sacrifices (the first, that is, of many), the co-emperors Constantius II and Constans sought to preserve pagan temples built outside a city's walls "since certain plays or spectacles . . . derive their origin from [them]."[31] Because pagan cults still enjoyed the emperors' financial support during this period, it may have been a case of preserving temples whose cult had long since declined, but whose games remained a popular (now secular) pastime.[32]

This accommodation of temples for the theatre's sake did not apply to still-active cults, as can be seen in an edict issued just a few years later closing all pagan temples and, once again, threatening anyone who performed pagan sacrifices with capital punishment.[33] After the brief reign of Julian the Apostate, a period when paganism temporarily regained its prominence, a new crop of anti-pagan emperors led

---

[31] Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 472. As Richard Lim notes, "Interestingly, the rhetorical trope originally used to oppose the spectacles by connecting them with pagan worship was drawn upon to argue a diametrically opposed practice" ("Consensus and Dissensus on Public Spectacles in Early Byzantium," in *Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium: Papers Given at the Eighth Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, University of New England, Australia, July 1993*, ed. Lynda Garland (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1997), 161). Bryan Ward-Perkins, however, prefers to read this edict in more general terms, as evidence of a general decline in preservation of pagan temples; see his *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300-850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 89.

[32] On imperial funding for pagan rites throughout this period see Vasiliev, *History*, 68. On Constantius' support for pagan rites see Symmachus *Report* 3 (English version: "Letter of St. Ambrose," trans. H. de Romestin, in Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd ser. (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890-1900; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994) (hereafter Schaff, *Select Library*), 10.415.

[33] Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 472 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.4). Issued *circa* 346/354/356; dating edicts can be difficult in part because offices like Praetorian Prefect were often held in rotation. See Theodore Mommsen, ed., *Theodisiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmonidianis* (The 16 Theodosian Books with the Sirmondian Constitutions), 3rd ed. (Reprint, Berlin: Weidmann, 1962), 1.clxvii. Another explanation for multiple dating is that pagan temples, like the theatres and hippodromes, may have been subject to temporary closure for political reasons. For the politics of theatre closures see Lim, "Consensus and Dissensus," 163-164.

by the young Augustus of the West, Gratian, created a new legal standard for temples and statuary during the 380's CE:

> We decree that the temple formerly dedicated to crowded assemblies and now open to the people, in which images have reportedly been placed (which should be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity), shall always be open . . . In order that it may be seen by the multitudes of the city, Your Experience shall preserve every celebration of festivals and . . . you shall allow the temple to remain open, but in such a way that people do not believe the observance of prohibited sacrifices is permitted by this access.[34]

This edict serves to reinforce and clarify the de-sanctification of key urban 'cultural heritage' sites, to save them from pillage at the hands of Christian hooligans. People were permitted to take in the sights and enjoy themselves, so long as their visits didn't degenerate into ritual.[35] Later edicts concerning spectacles in general[36] and the Maiouma in particular[37] tend to confirm the new, secular status quo.[38]

By the turn of the fifth century emperors had begun to focus on specific festivals and even specific statues, banning only those shows that offended Christian morality, and removing only those statues that attracted pagan worship.[39] But the process was not just one of 'secularizing' pagan statues; a recent study by Charlotte Roueché confirms that pagan imagery was now routinely appropriated for purposes of imperial propaganda. In Ephesus, statues of the winged goddess Victory were

---

[34] See Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 473 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.8, issued jointly by Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, 382 CE); translation based on Pharr but modified in light of observations in Mathew C. Mirow and Kathleen A. Kelley, "Laws on Religion from the *Theodosian* and *Justinianic Codes*," in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, Richard Valantasis, ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 271.

[35] The cognitive dissonance that results when a practicing pagan steps into a former temple is assumed. A comparable situation now exists for Greek Orthodox visitors to the Hagia Sophia Museum in Istanbul.

[36] Pharr, *Theodosian Code,* 475 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.7, issued 399).

[37] See Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 433 (*Codex Theodosianus* 15.6.1-2, issued 396-399 CE), which allows these water festivals to continue so long as certain "foul and indecent" shows are banned from them.

[38] As the Theodosian Code makes clear, the fourth and fifth centuries saw constant negotiations on the fate of public buildings. See also Mirow and Kelley, "Laws," 263-266.

[39] Pharr, *Theodosian Code*, 475 (*Codex Theodosianus* 16.10.18, issued 399 CE).

apparently removed from their original sites during the late fourth century, and re-grouped along the Embolos – the main route for theatre processions – to add luster to a newly-installed statue of the Empress Aelia Flacilla, wife of Theodosius I (379-395).[40]

The preceding analysis demonstrates how the reading of temples, statuary and the theatres associated with them had been a fluid, contested, and subjective process. The unity of divine, political and artistic elements in the Roman theatre was rooted in a specific philosophical and political program that could be de-constructed with ease to suit the needs of Roman authorities; the ability of Early Byzantine emperors to break down civic institutions into their conceptual parts was what enabled the Empire to preserve the theatrical *ludi*, their temples and statuary long after its official conversion to Christianity.

As T. D. Barnes points out, early Christian polemicists "assumed that theatrical performances were inherently idolatrous," and didn't expect that paganism and the theatre could go their separate ways;[41] but Roman urban culture turned out to be inherently flexible and open to change. Cults routinely rose and fell throughout Rome's history, and in all likelihood a number of statues adorning temples and theatres throughout the Empire had already lost their power to command devotion by the early fourth century CE.[42] Statues still inspiring worship were buried or

---

[40] Charlotte Roueché, "The Image of Victory: New Evidence from Ephesus," in *Travaux et Mémoires 14: Mélanges Gilbert Dagron* (Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2002), 527-546. The author would like to thank Dr. Roueché for bringing this study to his attention.

[41] T. D. Barnes, "Christians and the Theater," in *Roman Theater and Society: E. Togo Salmon Papers* vol. 1, ed. William J. Slater (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 173.

[42] Even Greeks in Aristotle's day had a spotty memory for myths and cults: "Adherence to the traditional plots of tragedy should not be sought at all costs. Indeed, to seek this is absurd, since even

destroyed, but those of public figures, powerless old gods, or – as in the case of Victory – gods useful for state propaganda, remained on display.[43] Officially, shows with more 'mature' content were banned,[44] and there is evidence that plays with more innocuous content continued to entertain audiences for centuries.[45]

The Christianization of the Pagan City

The period between the Early Byzantine emperors Constantine I and Justinian I, the early fourth through mid-sixth centuries, saw a series of distinct phases in the development of the new Christian festival scene. As noted above the process was far from smooth, involving as it did the suppression of pagan rites and maintenance of artwork, buildings and entertainments formerly associated with them. Throughout this period the theatre survived as a cultural institution; but the context and preferred readings of the spectacles underwent drastic changes.

Throughout this period, newly-empowered Christians began to emerge from their private houses and take possession of the traditional Roman city. What complicated this process was the lack of any real program for Christianization of urban space; early Christians were a private bunch. The reasons for this privacy were as much spiritual as political, however; as Dorothea French has pointed out:

---

the familiar subjects are familiar only to a minority, yet nonetheless please everyone" (*Poetics* 9.1451b27-28; trans., Halliwell, 61).

[43] It is possible to establish the fates of individual cults by surveying the find-spots and general condition of their statuary. Some gods were merely abandoned where they fell, but others were deliberately buried (often head-first); others were dismembered and used for scrap. Marble also proved a useful source for lime, so that the complete absence of a particular statue may also be evidence of a certain cult's decline.

[44] See n. 37 above, on the Maiouma.

[45] Sixth-century CE rhetor Choricius of Gaza insists that adultery plays in his city were tame affairs. See the author's "On Actors as Honest Working Stiffs: Selections from a new Translation of Choricius of Gaza's 'Defense of the Mimes'," *Basilissa* 2 (forthcoming).

> The antipathy of the Church Fathers to the city, its institutions, and cultural ideals, sprang from the fact that Christianity was first and foremost a religion, not a cultural ideal. As such, it was primarily concerned with the relationship between God and man, and not with managing life on this earth. Since the new faith developed on the periphery of society, it had not worked out a Christian system of politics.[46]

As a faith that stressed man's private relationship with the Almighty, Christianity was ill-equipped to take on the public sphere; its folk heroes since at least the second century had been the anti-urban, anti-social desert ascetics.[47] But as a newly empowered state religion, the Church was now free to develop its rites openly and take possession of the city in its own way. In doing so, the Church had the option of basing its ritual aesthetic and spatial practices on any number of Roman models, the rites of the theatre among them. The next section will seek to answer the question of whether, and how, spatial practices associated with the theatre influenced the creation of Byzantine (i.e., Orthodox) liturgical practices.

Stational Liturgies: Pagan, Imperial and Christian

By the second century CE, Roman theatre festivals were heralded by an elaborate stational liturgy in which images of divinities, emperors and personifications of civic institutions effectively sacralized urban space and promoted a politico-religious system of thought.[48] Explicit links between the emperor, the community and their divine protectors/protectresses were performed and reinforced

---

[46] Dorothea French, "Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles: The Secularization of the Ludi A.D. 382-525" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985), 20.

[47] See Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 81-101, on the origins of the desert ascetic movement in Egypt.

[48] Gervase Mathew characterizes the period preceding Constantine's reign as one that saw the triumph of monotheism (through the cult of *Sol Invictus*, the "Invincible Sun") and the rise of a new vision of the sacred and natural worlds as coincident. Constantine inherited a monotheistic vision of the emperor as God's elect, prior to his conversion to Christianity (see Gervase Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (New York: Viking Press, 1963), 12-22).

throughout the year, with an effect that could be regarded by turns as celebratory and prophylactic. Christian distaste for the old Roman *pompa diaboli* is legendary, but the general usefulness of processions for propaganda purposes, as well as for reinforcing communal bonds, proved irresistible. John Baldovin, in his study of the origins of the Orthodox stational liturgy, characterizes the development of Christianity's public persona in terms of the Church's adoption and appropriation of pagan devotional forms:

> It is difficult to see how it could have been any other way. To imagine that such a large-scale religious manifestation would not become part and parcel of the social order at this time, or that it would fail to remain so as long as the imperial *mythos* was sustained, would be totally anachronistic. In the transformation from being a threat to public order to being its legitimator, Christianity was destined to perform a function similar to that of the pagan civil religious establishment it replaced.[49]

As implied here, Baldovin links Christianity's pagan appropriations with its linkage to Roman imperial cult. The first public procession to incorporate Christian imagery was the triumphal entry of Emperor Constantine into Rome immediately after the battle of Milvian Bridge in 312 CE – the event that heralded Christianity's permanent legalization.[50] Having commissioned a standard with the Greek anagram *chi-rho* (the first two letters in *Christos*) for the battle and having painted it upon his soldier's shields, this symbol would have featured prominently in his imperial pageant.[51]

---

[49] John F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy* (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1987), 85.
[50] Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal rulership in late antiquity, Byzantium, and the early medieval West* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 101.
[51] On the anagram see A. H. M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 84-85. Equally symbolic was Constantine's refusal to make the traditional offering at the temple of Capitoline Jupiter (see Zosimus, *New History*, trans. Ronald T. Ridley (Canberra, AU: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1982), 37 & n. 64). McCormick, preferring to cast this change in evolutionary terms, finds the process to be one of "creeping Christianization," beginning with the neutralization of a celebration's pagan aspects and ending in their being performed explicitly as Christian rites (*Eternal Victory*, 101).

In spite of Constantine's ready adoption of Christian imagery, it would be some time before the Church developed an explicitly Christian processional liturgy. These liturgies, moreover, were not uniform and were not prompted by the same needs. At least three distinct types of processions emerged by the close of the fourth century – for historicization of Gospel events, for church services, as well as for the *adventus* of holy relics – and in each instance, the background for instituting the processions varied.

The first evidence of a Christian processional liturgy comes from late fourth-century Jerusalem, as witnessed by the pilgrim Egeria.[52] Jerusalem is often regarded as a font of liturgical practices; but as John Baldovin points out, prior to Constantine's time the city had not been known as "Jerusalem" for nearly two hundred years. With the ejection of the Jews after the Bar Cochba revolt in 70 CE, Jerusalem had been turned into a military colony, Jewish holy sites destroyed, and the city renamed Aelia Capitolina.[53] The development of a Christian stational liturgy could not begin until the mid-fourth century, and would have required renaming, rebuilding and repopulating a now-Christian city, as well as creating a network of shrines worth going to.[54]

The pilgrim Egeria's descriptions of processions in Jerusalem, especially those for Easter Week, confirm that even in its earliest years the stational practice in Jerusalem was one of historicization; their liturgy's purpose was to commemorate key

---

[52] For a translation see *Egeria's Travels*, trans. John Wilkinson, 3rd ed. (Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips, 1999.

[53] The city's (interim) name-change only became official in 135 CE; see Wilkinson's remarks in *Egeria's Travels*, 8-11.

[54] Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy,* 83-84. Jerusalem had attracted pilgrims for years, but Baldovin points out that prior to Egeria there is no mention of holy sites as places of worship, let alone processions (*Stational Liturgy*, 55).

episodes of Jesus' life on the sites where they were believed to have occurred.[55] Because of this historicist element – which becomes more pronounced with the passage of time[56] – there is the question of whether these processions also contained a theatrical element, i.e., whether any episodes were enacted and not merely observed. According to Egeria, the events were observed primarily through narration (i.e., readings from appropriate passages in the Gospels) and were accompanied by prayers, hymns and antiphonal chant. Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, imitated through a procession from the Mount of Olives into the city, was done entirely on foot,[57] and Good Friday consists of the congregation venerating a block of wood from the "True Cross," and other relics, with more readings and prayer.[58] Beyond Egeria's time the liturgy in Jerusalem became increasingly detached from narrative elements – Gospel readings, etc. – and devoted itself more to hymnography and other forms of praise and prayer;[59] further evidence, as Baldovin points out, that historicism was not the only motive and, if anything, declined in importance over time.[60]

In Jerusalem the unique 'sacred topography' of the area led to the creation of a stational liturgy; in other cities where such elements were lacking, the adoption of

---

[55] For Easter Week see *Egeria's Travels*, 151-157.
[56] For changes in rites and processional routes in Jerusalem between the fourth and tenth centuries see Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy*, 94-99. Even with the Arab conquest and the closure of processional routes out of the city (to related sites in Bethlehem and Bethany, for instance), attention to holy sites within the city walls becomes even more intense (*Stational Liturgy*, 100).
[57] See *Egeria's Travels*, 152. But see also Sabine MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981), 64, where the Palm Sunday procession is explicitly linked with the imperial *adventus*. MacCormack is uncertain about whether a donkey was used on Palm Sunday, but Egeria is not: "The bishop and all the people rise from their places, and start off on foot down from the summit of the Mount of Olives" (*Egeria's Travels*, 152).
[58] *Egeria's Travels*, 155-156.
[59] Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy*, 101.
[60] Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy*, 85-87. As a practical matter, Christians continued to live in "Sion," the southwestern quadrant of the old city, and commuted to the new complex of churches downtown.

processions was slow; if anything, they appear to have developed accidentally. Consider Socrates Scholasticus' account of the battle between the Orthodox and the Arians (an early heretical Christian sect), and how the Arians prompted the first official stational liturgy in Constantinople:

> "The Arians, as we have said, held their meetings without the city. As often therefore as the festal days occurred – I mean Saturday and Lord's day – in each week, on which assemblies are usually held by the churches, they congregated within the city gates about the public squares, and sang responsive verses adapted to the Arian heresy. This they did during the greater part of the night: and again in the morning, chanting the same songs which they called responsive, *they paraded through the midst of the city*, and so passed out of the gates to go to their places of assembly . . . John [Chrysostom] fearing lest any of the more simple should be drawn away from the church by such kind of hymns, opposed to them some of his own people, that they also employing themselves in chanting nocturnal hymns, might obscure the effort of the Arians, and confirm his own party in the profession of their faith.[61]

The background for this passage is that by the late fourth century, Arian congregations had been stripped of their churches within Constantinople, and had to meet in the suburbs for services. Famous for their appealing, antiphonal hymns (which their detractors likened to theatre songs) the Arians made a virtue of necessity and turned their forced marches into an opportunity to spread their doctrine. According to Socrates, these Arian processions had so much popular appeal that Patriarch John Chrysostom was forced to adopt much the same methods to fight for the hearts and minds of his parishioners.[62] More tellingly, Socrates' account undermines the modern notion that rituals prefer to keep their temporal, human

---

[61] Socrates, *Church History,* trans. A. C. Zenos, in Schaff, *Select Library*, 2nd ser., 2.144, emphasis mine.

[62] "Few sources indicate so clearly the propagandistic nature of ecclesiastical processions" (Baldovin, *Stational Liturgy,* 184).

origins obscure.[63] The history of the early Church was that of a private faith's gradual emergence into the public sphere, and historians like Socrates Scholasticus made a point of describing the human origins of church ritual, no matter how humble or craven.

Chrysostom's decision to create bi-weekly counter-processionals with impressive vestments, silver crosses and (for the first time) an imperial *castrato* singing hymns,[64] came at the turn of the fifth century, years after Jerusalem had developed its own street rites. Chrysostom also introduced a variation on the imperial *adventus* ceremony, heralding the translation of a saint's relics. Constantinople being an imperial city without any saints or sacred sites, the acquisition of relics was critical to the project of sacralizing urban space.[65]

The adaptation of the *pompa* for Christian purposes cannot be defined as an adoption of a purely pagan custom, however;[66] by Chrysostom's time, Gratian's edicts had officially secularized the urban scene and reflected a new, more detached attitude towards pagan traditions. Where Roman paganism had deliberately promoted the unity of paganism and politics, and assumed universal participation in cult activities, with the rise of Christianity one could now choose which rites to participate in, which faith to adopt – and as Catherine Bell would point out, it is the element of

---

[63] Catherine Bell observes that "rituals tend to present themselves as the unchanging, time-honored customs of an enduring community … any suggestion that they may be rather recently minted can give rise to consternation and confusion" (*Ritual*, 210). See also Bell's treatment of Barbara Meyerhoff's theories of ritual origins (*Ritual*, 224).

[64] On the imperial eunuch Brison and his role in these processions see Neil Moran, "Byzantine castrati," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11.2 (2002), 100-101.

[65] See R. Janin, "Les Processions Religieuses a Byzance." *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 24 (1936), 70. For John Chrysostom's homily on the occasion in J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, (A Complete Series of Patristic Writings, Greek Series), 161 vols. (Paris: 1844-1912; reprint, Brepols: Turnholt, 1960) (hereafter *Patrologia Graeca*), 43.467-468.

[66] Baldovin, for example, discusses the pagan origins of Christian processions (*Stational Liturgy*, 234-236), but fails to explain the process whereby an explicitly pagan practice could have become Christian.

choice that distinguishes a secularized society.[67] It had long been possible for Romans (especially Christian ones) to strip processions of their pagan associations and appreciate their more general features – song, spectacle, mass participation and above all civic group-think. This ability to conceive of the *pompa* in secular terms may have played a role in its later adoption by the Church.

Baldovin finds that processions continued to grow in number, perhaps reaching their fullest development during the sixth century.[68] The continued usefulness of processions, even after the Empire's fortunes began to wane, can be seen in the fact that the tenth-century *Typikon of the Great Church* includes sixty-eight processions for high holy days in Constantinople.[69]

Imperial and liturgical events, of course, were not the only pretext for a good parade; masked processions on old pagan holidays remained very popular. Given the increasing secularization of public institutions, however, the characterization of these carnivalesque parades as "pagan" (as in the case of the Council in Trullo of 690 CE)[70] should be taken with a grain of salt. Their secular entertainment value aside, however, these processions probably had political implications as well; Richard Schechner, in an essay on what he calls "direct theatre," describes how modern-day processions and their pageantry often give voice to political agendas that cannot find

---

[67] Bell, *Ritual*, 199. It could be argued that the Empire's support for a bewildering variety of gods and cults was, in itself, a secularist practice; ideologically however, all cults were regarded as parts of a single system, and a Christian's refusal to take part in any cult activity was regarded as subversive.
[68] Baldovin, 225-226.
[69] Janin ("Processions Religieuses," 73-87) counts sixty, but Baldovin lists sixty-eight (*Urban Character*, 292-295). Baldovin argues that there are signs in the *Typikon* of a decline in processions (212-213), but the copyist only noted events on high holy days, and normal weekly processions may have been included in other service books.
[70] For the Canon and some relevant, twelfth-century commentary see *Patrologia Graeca* 137.592.

other means of expression.[71] Throughout its history, Byzantium was an empire where the politics of the street played a crucial role in the emperor's rise and fall. Constantinople's monumental façade masked a highly unstable political atmosphere, and beneath the harmless play of carnival there always lurked a potential for revolt. Seen in this light, a decision by Patriarch Theophylact (933-956) to stage masked processions in Hagia Sophia may be understood as another shrewd attempt (not unlike Chrysostom's) to harness this potentially destabilizing social force in the service of Orthodoxy. And the continued popularity of Theophylact's in-church parades throughout the Middle Byzantine period indicates that the authorities found this sort of paratheatrical activity a useful way to maintain control over an often restive (or worse, indifferent) congregation.[72]

Church Architecture in Context

As mentioned in the Preface, Marios Ploritis' juxtaposition of the Hellenistic stage and the Orthodox *templon* screen reflects a popular perception that the Church took its spatial practices from the theatre. The chief problem with theatrical readings of sacred space is that they beg the question of how Christians understood the difference between the two institutions. Without analyzing the internal logic behind changes in Orthodox spatial practice, a logic that assumed clear distinctions between

[71] See Richard Schechner, "Invasions Friendly and Unfriendly: The Dramaturgy of Direct Theater," in *Critical Theory and Performance*, Janelle G. Reinelt and Joseph R. Roach, eds. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 88-106. See also A. P. Kazhdan and Ann Wharton Epstein, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985), 82-83: "In contrast to the spectator sport of the circus, the carnival, with its masquerading, carousing, and buffoonery, allowed for the full participation of the common man."
[72] For an overview of Theophylact's career see John Skylitzes' *Synoptic History* 242-244 (for French translation see *Jean Skylitzes: Empereurs de Constantinople*, Bernard Flusin trans. (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 2003), 204-205). On the enduring appeal of Theophylact's church-carnivals see the commentary of Theodore Balsamon on Canon 62 of the Council in Trullo, *Patrologia Graeca* 137.728.

theatrical and liturgical practice, it is premature to assume the Church adopted the spatial aesthetic of an institution it abhorred.

Although theatres had many uses, their physical structure made them ill-suited for adaptation into churches.[73] Prior to Constantine's time Christians usually held services in larger private homes – known as *domus ecclesiae* or, in Rome, *tituli*.[74] Services were held in what amounted to someone's living room in a second-story apartment; by Constantine's time however, some of these "church houses" had been expanded and devoted to services only.[75] The new-found freedom to create buildings *openly* identifiable as churches was thus layered upon the tradition of using interior, domestic spaces for Christian ritual. And Constantine's taste for basilicas – he had already built a grand one for imperial audiences at his palace in Trier – provided a natural model for church construction.[76]

A number of elements argued for their use: designed for large meetings,[77] basilicas could be built quickly and relatively cheaply[78] and could include any number of architectural elements in accordance with local conditions. As symbolic spaces, basilicas were multi-valent as well; although usually built for civic purposes,

---

[73] The exception, in this case, proves the rule; at some point a church was built in the eastern *parodos* at the Theatre of Dionysus, the orchestra converted to an atrium and a small fountain erected there. See John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (New York: Praeger, 1971), 538 & 549 (fig. VIII). For this church's association with St. George of Alexandria see August Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1868), 31-32. See also Costas E. Bires, *Ἀι Εκκλησίαι τῶν Παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (The Churches of Ancient Athens) (Athens: "Ἑστιας," 1940), 45 & map overleaf.
[74] For an introduction to the early Christian *tituli* or *domus ecclesiae*, see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*,4th ed. (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 26-29. For a list of early Roman *tituli* used prior to the fourth century CE see Baldovin, 108.
[75] See for example Lloyd Michael White, "*Domus Ecclesiae – Domus Dei*: Adaptation and Development in the Setting for Early Christian Assembly" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1982), 481-540, for a description of the transitional period from the second to the early fourth centuries.
[76] Krautheimer, Richard. "The Constantinian Basilica." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1971), 117-118.
[77] Krautheimer (*Architecture*, 42) points out that the term basilica refers more to the function than the form of the actual building: "a basilica was but a large meeting hall."
[78] Krautheimer notes that timber roofs, a common element, were easier and less labor-intensive than domes or barrel-vaults ("Basilica," 129).

the religious element was present in the form of an image of the emperor's patron deity in the central apse jutting out from the main hall.[79] In addition, their use as synagogues and cult-related sites attests to the flexibility with which they could be constructed and interpreted.[80] This flexibility contributed to the vogue for basilica churches throughout the Early Byzantine period.[81]

Christianizing Civic Space: the Church-Basilica and the Sanctuary Apse

Churches founded under imperial donation benefited from lavish interior decoration – one common pattern being that of marble revetment (thin slabs installed over load-bearing brick and stonework) in the lower course, mosaics and/or painted plaster above, sometimes even topped by gilded wood beams.[82] A chest-high barrier, known as the chancel screen, was erected to mark off the sanctuary area in the apse, which was now oriented towards the east to take advantage of the symbolism of the rising sun.[83] In a somewhat later addition, an enclosed path was erected heading west into the nave – the *solea* – and this path led to a raised pulpit or *ambo* (fig. 1). Used for readings from scripture, sermons and hymns at various points during the liturgy,

[79] Krautheimer, "Basilica," 123.
[80] Krautheimer, "Basilica," 123-124.
[81] On the origins of the single-nave, single-apsed basilica church Krautheimer concluded, "I think no longer in terms of one single source, whether forum basilicas or palace basilicas, for the origins of the Christian basilica, but view it as a new creation within a genus long established and about A.D. 300 in a process of renewal" ("Basilica," 127, n. 33).
[82] Krautheimer cautions that this does not appear to be a common form among Constantine's churches ("Basilicas," 130), but marble revetment and/or gilded ceiling timbers featured in his basilicas in Jerusalem ("Basilicas," 129 & 133), and even the later domed church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople has the same pattern of marble revetment, with mosaic in the upper register.
[83] In northern Greece some churches used barriers between the aisles and nave, presumably to separate catechumens (or the whole congregation) from the celebrants -- see Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 101-102.

the *ambo*'s exact placement varied but seems to have depended on acoustical considerations.[84]

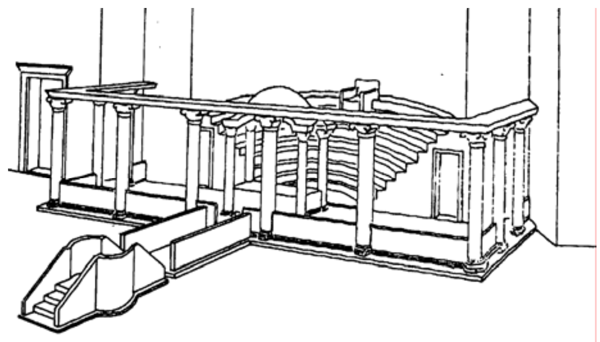


Fig. 1. Early Byzantine Sanctuary, with chancel screen, *solea* and *ambo* in the foreground. After Mathews, *Early Churches*, 65.

The better part of the sanctuary proper was taken up by the *synthronon* (fig. 2), which in the larger metropolitan churches consisted of semicircular *cavea*-like seating for the clergy, with a throne centered at the top row for the presiding hierarch. At the *synthronon* in Trier, where Constantine would sit in state surrounded by his aides, the ideology of the emperor as a manifestation of divinity imbued the imperial ensemble with a sacred aura. This symbolism of God's elect on his throne proved useful for ecclesiastical purposes.[85]

---

[84] See Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), 110, on early ambos in Constantinople, and 143 & 148 for their use in readings, sermons and chant; Mathews was not in a position to explain the function of the ambo more fully, but it is clear that acoustical concerns would have played a large role in their size and placement.

[85] With time, the emperor's status as a holy man became more explicit; by the Middle Byzantine period, coronations were staged much the same way as initiations into the priesthood, and the emperor often peformed clerical duties on high feast days at Hagia Sophia. See George P. Majeska, "The Emperor in His Church: Imperial Ritual in the Church of St. Sophia," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Henry Maguire, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), 1-11.

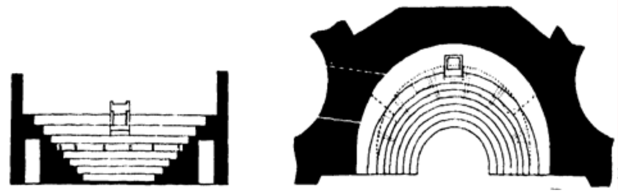


Fig. 2. Front and top view of the *synthronon*. Note the throne for the hierarch top and center. After Mathews, *Early Churches*, 66.

Richard Krautheimer, comparing Trier with Rome's Lateran basilica (which was also commissioned by Constantine), notes:

> True, the Lateran basilica is a church and it served bishop and congregation for regular religious services. But at the same time, it was the throne hall both of Christ Basileus [King] and of the bishop, His representative, just as the basilica of Trier was the seat of the Emperor's Divine Majesty, or, in his absence, the seat of his local representative.[86]

The presence of the *synthronon* was to have two practical effects on the aesthetics of Christian ritual: first, in order to ensure the visibility of the church hierarch there was no visual barrier between the nave and the sanctuary; early chancel screens were around one meter high[87] and in some cases supported decorative columns (or colonnettes) topped off by an architrave (as seen in fig. 1 above).[88] Unlike in the theatre where actors disappeared backstage once their scenes were over, the clergy remained constantly in view, and in effect performed a sequence of sacred *tableaux vivants* symbolic of the heavenly host, regardless of whether they were actively participating.

The second effect of the *synthronon* was that because of its sheer mass, the altar had to be placed a few meters in front of the apse, i.e., within the nave proper, to

[86] Krautheimer, "Basilicas," 121.

[87] See the description of the chancel barrier for an imperial chapel by the palace's bronze gate (the *Chalcoprateia*) in Mathews, *Early Churches*, 32-33 & Fig. 14.

[88] See Mathews' analysis of the barrier at the Studios Basilica in Constantinople in *Early Churches*, 25-27.

accommodate the celebrants who stood and processed around it.[89] As a result the sanctuary area thrust itself into the nave, with the chancel screen forming a three-sided precinct shaped like the Greek letter *pi* (Π).[90] Although the resulting barrier had three entrances – a great central doorway opening onto the *solea* to the west, and two smaller entrances opening north and south – the ensemble of open chancel screen, *solea* and *ambo* was distinct from that of the Hellenistic stage front, let alone the monumental Roman *scenae frons* (see fig. 3). The liturgy as practiced in the Early Byzantine period was marked by its transparency, and relying as it did on the imagery of the court,[91] Orthodoxy's spatial practice was clearly imperial, not theatrical.[92]

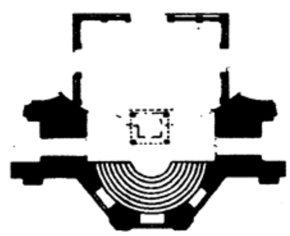


Fig. 3. Sanctuary layout for Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (completed by Justinian in 527 CE), with the chancel barrier above and the altar and synthronon below. The image has been inverted so that the *pi*-shaped barrier is seen from the Patriarch's perspective, facing west. After Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, 73.

[89] Mathews, *Early Churches*, 109.

[90] For examples of this arrangement see Mathews, *Early Churches*, 24, fig. 8.

[91] Mathews goes on to dismiss theories that chancel screens had curtains to 'conceal the mysteries,' pointing out that after the dismissal of catechumens all those present were baptized Christians and hence were entitled to witness what followed (*Early Churches*, 162-171). He notes further that "The center of attention was not a screen or a play of curtains, but was either the great bank of steps in the apse where the bishop presided, surrounded by his priests, or the altar . . . *the liturgy was conceived as an open action*" (*Early Churches*, 178, emphasis mine).

[92] Mathews, in *Early Churches*, was the first to confirm a consistent pattern of centrally-positioned, *pi*-shaped chancel barriers fronting single apses in churches constructed prior to Justinian's Hagia Sophia, and notes that Justinian's architects adopted this precedent.

From Transparency to *Templon* Screen

Even as the building around it assumed different shapes and configurations, the open-air sanctuary with *pi*-shaped chancel screen remained common practice for centuries; Justinian's great, central-domed church of Hagia Sophia, first dedicated in the early sixth century, maintained the same layout throughout its history as a Christian church.[93] By the Middle Ages sanctuaries in other churches had acquired two side chambers, each with its own set of doors; and with the later insertion of icons between the columns on the chancel screen sanctuaries eventually lost their transparency. This arrangement masks a complex process of change that had little to do with physical theatres – which, by the time the *templon* screen appears, had been largely abandoned or converted to other uses, and would not have served as an architectural model.

The transition from openness to "mystery" involved two parallel developments: the addition of two chambers, usually known as *prothesis* ("offertory") and *diaconicon* ("deacon's room" or place for vestments and liturgical items) on either side of the sanctuary; and the installation of icons between the columns set above the chancel screen, which now ran in a single, flat wall in front of all three chambers. Bearing in mind that church architecture and liturgical practice continued to vary in accordance with local conditions, it is still possible to trace these developments to some degree and come up with approximate dates for their implementation.

[93] For a reconstruction of the sanctuary, *solea* and *ambo* in Hagia Sophia see Stephen G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *The Art Bulletin* 29 (1947),1-24.

The Tripartite Sanctuary

The practical need for auxiliary rooms near the sanctuary goes back to Christianity's earlier years when the laity would donate bread, wine and other items as they entered church; the deacons would receive the gifts, select bread and wine for the day's service, and take them to the sanctuary.[94] There is evidence that sanctuaries had been flanked by auxiliary rooms in some Syrian churches since at least the fourth century. But as Richard Krautheimer points out it is difficult to confirm these side rooms' functions until the fifth or sixth century, and even then their uses bear little relation to later developments. That these churches are found in smaller provincial towns indicates, moreover, that the creation of side-chambers next to the sanctuary – whatever their purpose – was at least in part a matter of spatial economy.[95]

This provincial model was not followed in Constantinople; a few steps outside the northeast entrance to Hagia Sophia, for example, stands a *skeuophylakion* (lit, "equipment storehouse") which served the functions of both the Syrian side-rooms. The *skeuophylakion* features prominently in the rubrics for the Liturgy in Hagia Sophia into the Middle Ages, as the site where the Eucharistic bread was prepared.[96] At a certain point during the liturgy deacons would walk outside to the

[94] See, for example, Gordana Babić, *Les Chappelles Annexes des Églises Byzantines* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1969), 58-59. As a practical matter, the *diaconicon* would be by the main entrance – regardless of where the doors were – where the deacon stood to receive offerings.
[95] Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 141-143. Another sign of spatial economy was the location of entry doors along the south wall in some churches, which enabled worshippers to deposit their offerings directly in the *diaconicon* in the southeast corner. See also Mathews, *Early Churches*, 106, for North Syrian sanctuary plans.
[96] For an introduction to the placement and function of the *skeuphylakion* in Constantinopolitan churches see Robert F. Taft, *The Great Entrance: A History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Pre-anaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom* (Rome: Pontificial Institute of Oriental Studies, 1978), 185-191. Taft also notes the precedent for a tri-partite sanctuary in Syria (*ibid*., 182-183). For the varied placement of the *skeuphylakion* elsewhere see Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 94-95. Donations from the laity were not always necessary; the *skeuphylakion* at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople included a *fournos* or "oven," presumably used to bake bread for services (*Great Entrance*, 191).

skeuophylakion, pick up the bread and wine and quietly re-enter, depositing it in the sanctuary. The *skeuophylakion* remained in use at Hagia Sophia and elsewhere in the capitol for centuries.

Eventually, however, the deacon's little trip developed into a procession that wound its way from the NE entry doors by the *skeuophylakion* up the northern aisle, back through the nave and into the sanctuary accompanied by the *Cherubikon*, a hymn composed for the new procession that stressed its spiritual significance (fig. 4).[97] By the late eighth century there is also evidence that a preparatory ceremony, the *Proskomide*, was offered by the priest in the *skeuophylakion* over the Eucharistic bread prior to services.[98]

The additions of the Great Entrance (about which, more later) and especially the pre-liturgical *Proskomide* or "offertory" prayer provide one explanation for the creation of a *prothesis* chamber inside later churches; given the increased emphasis on pre-liturgical actions and on the symbolism of the Eucharist elements' entry, it is possible that some clergy found an indoor room, close to the sanctuary, to be more appropriate (fig. 4).

There is little evidence, however, that liturgical innovations prompted the move indoors, and the more common theory is one of convenience: it was simpler to keep liturgical items and the Eucharist in rooms located indoors and near the

---

[97] Taft (*Great Entrance*, 35-46) offers some early accounts of how the Eucharist was introduced. The evidence points to regional variations, and adoption of provincial traditions in the capitol: Theodore of Mopsuestia, writing from near Antioch, describes a grand procession with the Eucharistic elements and analyzes its symbolism, while Chrysostom – who served as Patriarch after many years in Antioch – doesn't mention any processions in Constantinople at all. Patriarch Eutychius, who presided over services in Justinian's Hagia Sophia, mentions a procession with chant some 150 years after Chrysotom. The *Cherubikon*, as Taft notes, was introduced by Patriarch John III Scholasticus a few decades after Hagia Sophia's completion (*Great Entrance*, 487; but see also 68-69).

[98] Babić, *Les Chappelles Annexes*, 63. On the meaning of the *Proskomide* see Taft, *Great Entrance*, 350-364.

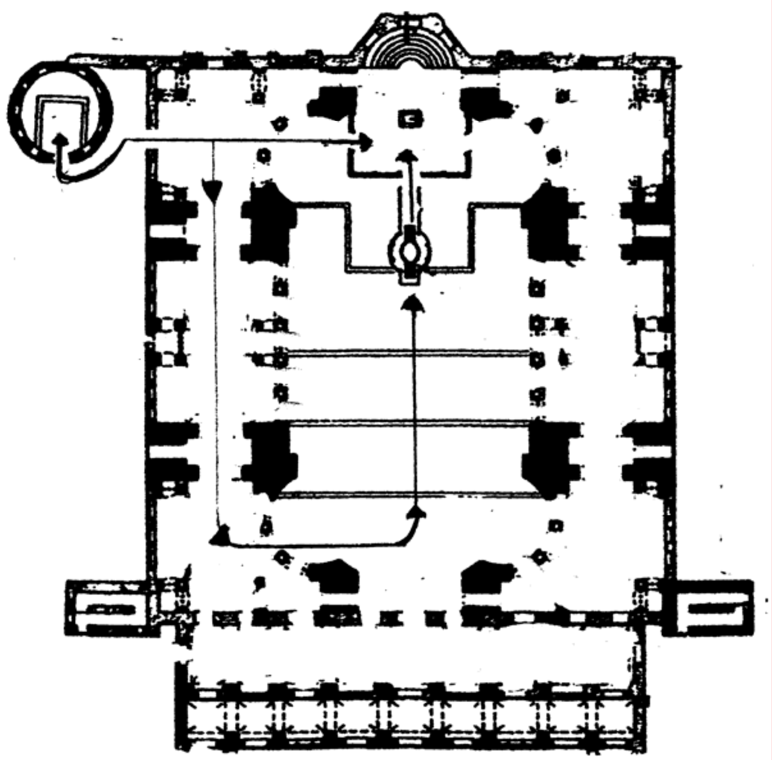


Fig. 4. Floor plan for the Great Entrance in Hagia Sophia with arrows indicating possible old and new routes for the entrance of the Eucharist. Initially, the Eucharistic elements would have come from the *skeuophylakion* directly to the sanctuary; in Justinian's Hagia Sophia the route eventually changed, passing through the north aisle and back into the nave, proceeding through the *solea* into the sanctuary.
After Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 271.

sanctuary.[99] But even convenience does not account for the fact that tripartite sanctuaries, already a provincial practice, would not become common in Constantinople until the early tenth century.[100] Hagia Sophia may have gone through a transitional phase at this time, because both a *prothesis* chamber and

[99] Hence Krautheimer, *Architecture*, 298 and Taft, *Great Entrance*, 200. Taft notes that "Not every village church was the size of Hagia Sophia, and served by a whole string of deacons."
[100] Mathews, *Early Churches*, 107. As Babić points out, the terms *skeuphylakion*, *prothesis* and *diaconicon* were used interchangeably for some time during the Middle Ages, indicating a period of fluidity in both terminology and placement of these rooms. By the fourteenth century, Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica designates the *diaconicon* as the left-hand room and the *prothesis* as the right-hand room (from the perspective of a hierarch looking out from the *synthronon*). See Babić, *Les Chappelles Annexes*, 63.

skeuophylakion are mentioned in a contemporary liturgical service book.[101] In rubrics for imperial ceremony from the mid-fourteenth century there is mention of a "so-called *prothesis*," but given the Byzantine taste for euphemisms, "*prothesis*" here could simply mean the *skeuophylakion*, which remained in use at Hagia Sophia for storage, bread-baking, etc. until the fall of Constantinople in 1453.[102]

The *Templon* Screen

During the tenth century, when the tri-partite sanctuary was coming into vogue, chancel screens became more elaborately decorated and icons eventually found their way between the columns of the chancel screen. The reasons for this last change remain a matter of speculation, but the process appears to have taken centuries and began during the Early Byzantine Period. Because the art-historical chronology for the *templon* screen's development is usually presented on its own, possible links between the development of the tripartite sanctuary and *templon* screen remain unclear – although eventually the two did coincide.[103]

Past studies on the development of the *templon* have identified specific steps in the process,[104] the first of which appears to have been the appearance of small icons installed above the chancel screen's architrave as early as the mid-seventh

---

[101] Robert F. Taft, "The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a twelfth-century diataxis in codex British Museum Add. 34060," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 46 (1980), 99-101.
[102] Taft, *Great Entrance*, 201-202. The phrase "so-called *prothesis*" implies its use as a euphemism.
[103] Mathews finds that the changes discussed here demonstrate "the close relationship of church planning to the needs of the ceremonial and the continued interaction of those two important creations of Byzantium, architecture and liturgy "(*Early Churches*, 178). But given the evidence for any number of other practical and political influences, the process may not have been as neat as Mathews implies.
[104] The chief source for this study will be Manolis Chatzidakis, "L'Évolution de l'icone aux 11e – 13e siècles et la transformation du Templon (The Evolution of the Icon in the 11th – 13th Centuries and the Transformation of the *Templon*)" in *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, vol. 3, *Art et Archaéologie*, ed. Maria A. Gavrilis (Athens, 1976), 159-189.

century.[105] The material used for the chancel screen – marble, ivory, wood, etc. – also became more elaborately carved and painted.[106] What complicates this 'developmental' scenario is the Iconoclastic Period (717-843) when the right to use sacred images (icons) was attacked. Proceeding as it did in two distinct phases, iconoclastic emperors worked with like-minded clergy to strip both lay and monastic churches of all of their sacred imagery.[107] The ability of the monastic community to organize popular resistance and formulate a precise, neo-platonic defense of sacred images, together with popular support for images (not to mention the sympathies of two Byzantine empresses) eventually led to their restoration.

This so-called "Triumph of Orthodoxy" did not influence the creation of the *templon* screen, however; it simply meant that pre-existing schemes could be restored. Eleventh-century monastic literature confirms the presence of an architectural element designated as a *templon*, but given medieval usage the word probably refers to the (pre-iconoclastic) row of images installed *above* the chancel barrier's columns, not between them.[108] Meanwhile in lay churches, icons in the

---

[105] See Cyril Mango, "On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979), 40-43. Mango's study comes a few years after that of Chatzidakis (cited above), and revises his chronology somewhat.
[106] Chatzidakis, "L'Évolution de l'icone," 3.160-161.
[107] The Iconoclastic Period is traditionally divided into three phases: phase one, ca. 717-780 CE, encompasses the reigns of Leo III (717-741) his son, Constantine V (741-775), and Leo IV the Khazar (775-780), although the persecution did not begin until 726 and did not end officially until the Seventh Ecumenical Council, which convened in 786-787 (see Vasiliev, *History*, 251-264). Phase two, (ca. 780-815 CE), saw the repudiation of iconoclasm, while phase three (815-843 CE) saw the reinstitution of iconoclasm, first under emperor Leo V (813-820) and then under Michael II (820-829) and Theophilus (829-842). After Theophilus' death his widow, the Empress Theodora, engineered the official end of iconclasm in 843. See also Warren G. Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 350-447. A more recent analysis of church activities during this period can be found in Vincenzo Ruggieri, *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582-867): its History and Structural Elements* (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1991).
[108] See Chatzidakis, "L'Évolution de l'icone," 3.165-166, for interpretation of *templon* as intercolumnar icons; for *templon* as merely a collection to images installed above the architrave, see A. W. Epstein, "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?," *Journal of the British Archeological Association* 134 (1981), 2-6.

chancel screen may not have become common until after the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204-1261), and even then they were processional icons designed for regular outdoor use, not permanent installations.[109] Indeed, there is as yet no hard evidence for permanent icons cutting off the view of the sanctuary, except in isolated provincial churches, even during Byzantium's last years. As A. E. Epstein puts it:

> What little evidence remains seems to indicate that the Constantinopolitan *templon* during the Middle Byzantine period consisted of a colonnade closed at the bottom by ornamental parapet slabs and supporting an epistyle decorated with a figural programme . . . the same programmatic and formal arrangement also typified the sanctuary closure of the early fourteenth century, after the termination of the Latin occupation.[110]

Epstein, however, implies a practical motivation for the creation of intercolumnar icons, reminiscent of what may have led to the tripartite sanctuary: spatial economy. Both monastic and lay churches traditionally featured *proskynetaria*, icons used for personal devotions, positioned on either side of the sanctuary.[111] As in the western tradition, the placement of sacred images in close proximity to the sanctuary allowed monks and laypersons to participate more actively in the rites of the church. It appears that in certain isolated cases, smaller provincial churches decided to incorporate the *proskynetaria* into the chancel screen, cutting off visual access to the sanctuary but continuing to provide opportunities for personal devotion.[112] Given the lack of evidence that these changes were dictated by Constantinopolitan or monastic practice, it is more likely that these were cases of local ritual practice and spatial

[109] So common was the use of processional icons in the *templon* that where the space between columns was filled with plaster, images were painted on both sides as if it were for processional use. See Chatzidakis, "L'Évolution de l'icone," 3.166-169.
[110] Epstein, "Templon or Iconostasis?," 10.
[111] On the *proskynetaria*, see Epstein, "Templon or Iconostasis?," 12-24.
[112] "Only within the peculiar circumstances of unpretentious, non-metropolitan buildings were permanent visual barriers introduced . . . [But] they were local adaptations of common liturgical arrangements to the restricted space of provincial buildings" (Epstein, "Templon or Iconostasis?," 27).

requirements having greater influence. The traditional view of Christian ritual and spatial practice as being hierarchichally determined must give way, in this as in other instances, to the less glamorous realities of local practice.

Summary: Early Byzantine Spatial Practices

As experienced by Orthodox worshippers today, the *templon* screen masking a tripartite sanctuary has the aura of longstanding tradition (and, for Ploritis, the smell of thievery from theatrical sources); hence the naïve notion that church interiors have always been this way. Upon closer inspection, however, it is clear that neither the screen nor its rooms were considered essential before the Middle Ages, if then.

With the eventual development of the tripartite sanctuary, it would still be centuries before the new side-chambers acquired specific uses; even then, these uses were not consistent. And however long it took for these rooms to become defined as *prothesis* and *diaconicon*, it would it would be a few more centuries still before icons were installed in lay churches to "hide" these rooms from the congregation.

The chief purpose of the above analysis has been to demonstrate how an internal ecclesiastical process, driven by any number of practical concerns and influences, could eventually produce a sanctuary complex easily mistaken for a theatre. Far from demonstrating a conscious, "evolutionary" process, their accidental resemblance to each other demonstrates the inherent unpredictability of cultural processes. There is no evidence that the church knowingly borrowed the spatial and

visual aesthetic of a public building that it had shunned, and which as a practical matter had long since gone out of use.[113]

Future studies may yet reveal any number of other elements that contributed to these developments – donations from benefactors to an already-established church, the clergy's need for greater privacy, etc. One area in particular, however, may merit special consideration, because it is a problem common to both the Western and Eastern churches: changes in the linguistic milieu. In the West, where the Mass was celebrated exclusively in Latin, the development of local vernaculars coupled with varying degrees of literacy resulted in a language gap between clergy and laity. Repetition of specific Latin formulae may have helped bridge this gap, but only went so far in explaining what was being done or why.[114]

Similarly, Orthodox services throughout the Empire were conducted in an archaic Greek that, in some regions, may have been hard for the laity to follow. The classically-educated twelfth-century Archbishop of Athens, Michael Choniates, complained that even the simplest sermons were incomprehensible to his flock, and he found the local dialect in Plato's home town almost unrecognizable as Greek.[115]

---

[113] The end of state-funded theatre is traditionally dated to the reign of emperor Justinian I (527-565), and met with some resistance. See for example *Procopius: The Secret History*, G. A. Williamson, trans. (New York: Penguin, 1966), 169: "The whole of the revenues which all the municipalities had raised locally for communal purposes and for entertainments he took over and shamelessly pooled with the revenues of the central government . . . Theatres, hippodromes, and circuses were almost all shut . . . later on he gave orders that all these places of entertainment should be closed down in Byzantium [i.e., Constantinople], to save the Treasury from having to finance the payments hitherto made to the people – so numerous that I cannot estimate their numbers – who depended on them for a living."

[114] This problem, and the steps taken in response to it, will be discussed below; see especially T. P. Dolan, "The Mass as Performance Text," in *From Page to Performance,* ed. John A. Alford (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1995), 13-24.

[115] See Vasiliev, *History*, 2.492-494. It took Archbishop Michael three years to learn how to talk with his congregation. Although the Catholic church finally switched from Latin to the vernacular after the Second Vatican Council, Orthodox services in Modern Greek are only now, at the dawn of the 21st century, becoming a reality. Problems of translation (and transcribing traditional Byzantine chant) have created a mixture of Greek and English in Greek Orthodox services in the United States.

Given the function of images as a means of teaching the illiterate – or, in this instance, those whose dialect had strayed from the Constantinopolitan academic norm – the *templon* screen would have enabled the clergy to communicate the significance of the sanctuary area to their provincial congregations. Conversely, the slow rate of architectural change at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople may be attributed, in part, to the relative uniformity of linguistic practice there. The "Great Church" hosted liturgies performed and attended by men who had grown up in school together, speaking a modified form of Attic Greek in a distinctive, Constantinopolitan accent. This linguistic milieu, however small, was consistent enough in its discursive practices that didactic images would not have been necessary.

Iconography, Optics, and Subjectivity

The use of religious images in Orthodox churches represents another instance of pagan traditions being adapted for Christian use. As Baldovin would point out, appropriating past practices was inevitable; and the hierarchical arrangement of sacred images was among them. But there were differences in both typology and prescribed usage, particularly in the wake of the Iconoclastic Period when the use of sacred images was hotly debated.

One big difference was in the lowly status, iconographically speaking, of the emperor: where Roman tradition elevated him to the dominant, top-center position in the *scenae frons*, early Christian churches relegated him to lowest rank, if at all. In the early sixth-century church of San Vitale in Ravenna, Justinian I and Empress

Theodora face each other at almost floor level in the sanctuary apse, bearing the paten and chalice for the Eucharistic service.[116]

The upper register, meanwhile, is occupied by saints, archangels and seraphim (who at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople occupy the pendentives supporting the great central dome), and since the ninth century the Virgin and Child have resided high above the sanctuary apse. In churches with central domes, Christ – depicted in a posture of blessing or imperial power – came to occupy the highest part of the visual field.[117] The symbolic imperialization of Christ and Mary aside, what distinguishes pagan statuary from Orthodox icons is the latter's emphasis on two-dimensionality and formalism. Sacred images rely on a repertoire of visual commonplaces – silhouette, dress, hairstyle, gesture, etc. – to communicate identity. And their flat, hieratic appearance was designed to invite a specific response from the viewer. It was not a matter of Byzantine artists forgetting or losing the skills of classical antiquity – realistic art, like theatrical shows, remained common in Byzantium's secular sphere – but icons were composed with an eye to their spiritual function.

The debate that arose in the eighth and ninth centuries over whether and how to use sacred images recalls, somewhat ironically, the debate engaged over pagan statues between Eusebius of Caesaria and Porphyry. As noted above, Eusebius' position on images of the divine was firm, and he had formulated a conservative

---

[116] For these images and commentary see Wolfgang Fritz Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1962) 164-167 & 342-344. In the wake of the Iconoclastic Period, emperors were relegated to side-galleries and entrances (see Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 29, 31, 59, 116). In Justinian's time a set iconographic program for the sanctuary had not yet developed; by the Middle ages the lowest rank would be occupied the by Church Fathers depicted as co-celebrants, depicted reading prayers along with the living clergy. See Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999).
[117] See Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 281 (Fig. A12) for the distribution of figural mosaics in the upper register. As Mainstone points out (*Hagia Sophia*, 116 & n. 30), the extant mosaics are only a fraction of what was once there.

definition of idolatry – any depiction of divinity in matter of any kind – that would come back to haunt Orthodoxy. So when St. John of Damascus (Damascene) set out to defend the use of sacred images in the early eighth century, his response was designed primarily for conservative Christians.

Damascene's first line of defense involved the fundamental precept of the Christian faith, the incarnation of Christ:

> It is clear that when you see the bodiless become human for your sake, then you may accomplish the figure of a human form; when the invisible becomes visible in the flesh, then you may depict the likeness of something seen.[118]

Having used the incarnation as his chief rationale, Damascene further argues that written words and images are equivalent – an attitude rooted in the semantics of the Greek language. The verb *graphein*, often translated simply as "to write," encompasses a variety of practices and can also mean "to draw" or "to paint."[119] Hence Damascene's belief that there are two kinds of icons: the written word, and the material image:

> I say that everywhere we use our senses to produce an image of the Incarnate God himself, and we sanctify the first of the senses (sight being the first of the senses), just as by words hearing is sanctified. For the image is a memorial [*anamnesis*]. What the book does for those who understand letters, the image does for the illiterate; the word appeals to hearing, the image appeals to sight; it conveys understanding.[120]

---

[118] St. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, trans. Andrew Louth (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003), 24 (*Treatise* 1.8).

[119] See *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. "γράφω."

[120] St. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises*, 31. Note that the written word is described as something to be *heard*, not read; books being a rare commodity, the experience of scripture as text would naturally have been limited to the celebrants. The assumed aurality of the text is a newly emerging issue in Byzantine studies.

Damascene makes a point of reminding the reader that the faculty of sight takes precedence over hearing – a classical concept that is also informed by the ancient science of optics, which will be addressed shortly.

Damascene further specifies how the image is to be treated by the faithful, again invoking the incarnation of Christ as the chief rationale. Aware that popular piety often imbued icons with magical properties,[121] he makes a distinction between Creator and created, and thus between adoration and honor. Although matter is privileged and worthy of honor, it is not venerated or worshipped: "I do not venerate matter, I venerate the fashioner of matter, who became matter for my sake."[122] Damascene distinguishes his position from that of the "Manichees," a euphemism for Christian sects that privileged the spiritual at the expense of the material.[123] But to correct past superstitions, Damascene specifies that the image is designed to activate a private, subjective response, one in which the eye stimulates the mind and directs it to the realm beyond:

> Through the senses a certain imaginative image is constituted in the front part of the brain and thus conveyed to the faculty of discernment, and stored in the memory.[124]

Damascene's debt to the Neo-platonic school here is evident, but it also suggests the chief design concept behind the icon: rather than create a work that attracts attention to itself for its artistry (and hence its materiality), an icon succeeds to the degree that it avoids or deflects this kind of aesthetic appreciation, and facilitates contemplation of a spiritual presence. This presence, in turn, is what is realized within the mind of

---

[121] See Edward James Martin*, A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930, Reprint: New York, Macmillan, 1978), 29-30.
[122] St. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises*, 29.
[123] St. John of Damascus, *Three Treatises*, 30.
[124] St. John of Damascus,*Three Treatises*, 26.

the observer.[125] Any enlightenment or healing that results from this act of perception is not the result of the image's material properties – the icon remains wood and pigment, the mosaic mere chips of glass with color laid beneath them – but occurs by virtue of the observer's contemplation of the saint depicted in the image. Where Plato rejected material images as cheap imitation, and Aristotle privileged the role of the intellect in the mimetic arts, Damascene sees image-making as a two-way street, in which the material facilitates direct communication between mankind and the spiritual realm.

Fundamental to an understanding of Damascene's account is the classical theory of optics, which remained dominant in both the Western and Eastern churches throughout this period. We tend to construct the eye as a passive receiver of light rays bouncing willy-nilly off of an objective reality we can scarcely understand. The Byzantines, on the other hand, reversed this transaction and constructed the eye as an active seeker of wisdom; it activated the intellect through its restless hunt for phenomena. To Damascene and his contemporaries, it was the eye that emanated rays onto a field of phenomena, not *vice versa*.[126] And as Edward James Martin points out, once this classical concept of vision-as-perception was combined with the Genesis narrative of man being created in God's image, it confirmed a human being's status as a bridge between the spiritual and natural realms:

---

[125] "[St. John of Damascus] held that no veneration or honor should be paid to the image as an object, as an object it is simply a piece of matter; the honour is paid to the prototype it represents and even that honour must not be more than simply proskynesis, the same honor that is paid to relics, to consecrated things and to men worthy of respect" (Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, 104).

[126] Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, 30.

> In man alone Mind and Matter, the worlds of *noetos* and *aisthetos*, intermingle and interpenetrate; through man alone the material becomes articulate in the praise of God.[127]

Mankind's mediating role re-positioned the five senses as agents whose task was to seize upon, interpret and articulate material forms for sacred purposes. The ability to articulate matter in praise of the divine, and the ability to perceive and grasp matter-as-praise were assumed on the part of those who painted and perceived sacred images.

With the understanding of eye-as-agent there was also a different concept of depth; now usually understood in terms of the space around or behind an image (as in a museum wall, or the space within the frame of a landscape painting or portrait), the Byzantines concerned themselves chiefly with the depth of the space *in front*, the space activated when the eye's rays sought out an image.[128] This helps to account for the icon's unique ambiance of presence – especially the predominance of gold paint or gold leaf surrounding the figure.[129] Damascene's description of the acts of perception and contemplation was rooted both in classical concepts of optics and depth and in the biblical concept of man created in God's image.

One outcome of Damascene's argument is to reinforce the subjectivity inherent in the experience of a sacred image. The eye is the agent that creates the relationship between viewer and viewed, so it is only in the viewer's mind that a

---

[127] Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, 23.
[128] Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, 31.
[129] As Mathew points out, gold was likely chosen as "background" because of its quality of light and not because it allegedly evoked "infinite space" behind the image (*Byzantine Aesthetics*, 31). Gold's unique reflective properties succeed in filling the interior space between the image and the viewer, and hence aid in the articulation of the image-as-praise as well as that of the eye as a perceiving agent.

spiritual event can take place.[130] The icon does not exist as an objective reality, so much as it exists to be perceived and, hence, to aid in creating an internal, spiritual reality in the observer.

As shall be explored in the next chapter, the theology of the icon as expressed by St. John of Damascus has its counterpart in the performance aesthetic of the Divine Liturgy and helps to explain why western experiments in performance of the Mass, and in the creation of "sacred representations" (i.e., sacred dramas) were never adopted in the Byzantine world.[131] In his study *Theatrical Representation in Byzantium and the West*, Iosef Vivilakes sums up the aesthetic divide between Orthodoxy and Catholicism in terms of both time and materiality:

> The liturgical art of Orthodoxy denotes time which emanates from the future through ritual which surpasses the dramatic element, whilst the religious art of the West expresses a time obeisant to emotions, nature and the present.[132]

Vivilakes also notes that later developments in Orthodox theology rendered the Eastern church even more hostile to the idea of a church-sanctioned drama. And as shall be discussed in chapter 5, Orthodoxy's chief objections to Latin sacred drama were rooted in the theology of the icon.[133]

By the Late Byzantine period, innovative uses of sacred images and celebrants resulted in the unique and puzzling *Office of the Three Children*, a rite which evoked

---

[130] This theory precedes Damascene by at least two centuries: the poet Agathias, a contemporary of Justinian's, once wrote of an icon of the Archangel Michael, "The man looking at the ikon directs his mind to a higher contemplation . . . Imprinting the ikon within himself he fears Him as if He were present. Eyes stir up the depth of the spirit. Art conveys through colors the soul's prayers" (as quoted in Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics*, 78).

[131] As Walter Puchner points out, and as shall be discussed in the next chapter, the Church's objections to acting were not simply moral, but also theological ("Acting in the Byzantine theatre," 307).

[132] Iosef Vivilakes, *Θεατρική Ἀναπαραστάση στό Βυζάντιο καί στή Δύση* (Theatrical Representation in Byzantium and the West). Athens: Γουλάνδρη-Χόρη, 2003), 113 (English summary).

[133] See also Vivilakes, *Θεατρική Ἀναπαραστάση*, 111-112., for a brief analysis of a polemic on this subject.

so many diverse responses that neither its Orthodox celebrants nor its audiences could agree what the *Office* was. Aesthetically speaking, this rite – whose performance elements will be the subject of the final chapter – can be seen as the ultimate expression of Orthodoxy's anxieties about the human body as a representational medium. Graphic images, whether in word or paint, remained the dominant mode of sacred discourse, to the exclusion of others more readily accepted in the West.

Summary

This first chapter has attempted to lay a more practical foundation for future studies of theatre and ritual in Byzantium by focusing on uses of architecture and urban space. The theatre itself, ideologically constructed as a sacred, political and aesthetic space, survived the Empire's conversion to Christianity primarily by virtue of an early decision by Byzantine emperors to create a new, "secular" sphere.[134] De-sacralizing temples and their statuary and converting them to 'cultural heritage sites' ensured a smoother transition to a new state religion. In spite of their polemical efforts, the Church was powerless to shut down the theatre; and the emperors' habit of holding games on Christian holy days only highlighted the clergy's powerlessness, when faced by a mob determined to entertain each other.

In secularizing and preserving public institutions, however, the emperors were simply acknowledging a process of internalized secularization that had been in the works for centuries; as early as Tertullian's time, Christians had no problem going to ostensibly pagan festivals, because the gods on display in the theatre no longer had any significance for them. Even in antiquity it had been possible to distinguish the

[134] The term's modern connotation is quite distinct from its original Latin usage. It meant "century," and "secular games" were sacred, all the more so since they were only held once every hundred years.

political, sacred and aesthetic aspects of any work of art; the rise of Christianity merely created one more compelling rationale for doing so.

A historical analysis reveals the tripartite sanctuary and *templon* screen in Orthodox churches had nothing to do with Hellenistic stage fronts. The *templon* and sanctuary complex each developed along their own separate timelines, and for reasons that remain obscure to this day. It is possible that the *templon* was the result of cultural factors such as the widening gap between liturgical Greek and the local vernacular; but regardless of what led to their creation, by the time these "theatre-like" elements emerge the theatres had long since been abandoned, scrapped or converted to other uses. And although certain "pagan" practices like the *pompa* were eventually integrated into Church services, here again the development of a stational liturgy was driven by local concerns – sometimes, explicitly political ones.

Chapter 2: Ritual vs. Theatrical Performance in Byzantium

Introduction: Jesus as Performance Theorist

One of the more singular aspects of extant accounts of Jesus' life is the lack of any direct references to theater. Hellenistic kings had produced plays in the region since at least the third century BCE, and Herod the Great had built theatres in Jerusalem and other major cities.[1] Yet Jesus never goes to the theatre, and never encounters actors or actresses. For a first-century CE reader the absence of such a popular Roman cultural institution would have signified (among other things) that Jesus was an observant Jew who avoided pagan spectacles.

Theatrical culture had long since been incorporated into Jewish thought, however: the Septuagint edition of Jewish scripture, produced in the second century

---

[1] Pickard-Cambridge cites the first extant reference to *Technitai Dionysiou* in Egypt during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (282-246 BCE) (see *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, ed. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 287). For evidence of at least two permanent theatres built during the Hellenistic period in Egypt, one century before the Septuagint is produced, see Paola C. Rossetto and Gioseppina P. Sartorio, eds., *Teatri Greci e Romani alle Origini del Linguiaggio Rappresentato* (Greek and Roman Theatres) (Rome: SEAT, 1994-1996), 1:311-325. Closer to the Common Era, the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus portrays Herod's theatre as the first of its kind in Jerusalem, and records fierce protests against its construction culminating in an assassination plot (see *The Life and Works of Flavius Josephus*, trans. William Whiston (Philadelphia, PA: J. C. Winston, 1957), 463-465). Numerous theatres in both Israel and Syria can be dated from the period of Herod the Great and his immediate successors (*Teatri Greci e Romani,* 2:336-357 & 3:195-219). The site of Herod's theatre in Jerusalem has yet to be found, however (*Teatri Greci e Romani*, 2:344-345). Recent excavations in Jerusalem have uncovered blocks possibly used for theatre seating, but it is more likely that Herod's theatre was a wooden structure (see Ronny Reich and Ya'akov Billig, "A Group of Theatre Seats Discovered near the South-Western Corner of the Temple Mount," *Israel Excavation Journal* 50:3-4 (2000), 175-184 and Joseph Patrich's response, "Herod's Theatre in Jerusalem: A New Proposal," *Israel Excavation Journal* 53 (2002), 231-239). See also Duane W. Roller, *The Building Program of Herod the Great* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 93-94, about Herod's introduction of "Italian" theatres; 146 (Map 2) for the full extent of Herod's construction sites; 155 (Map 11) for a partial map of Herod's projects in Jerusalem; and 174-182, for a summary of Herod's work in Jerusalem. For a map of Roman theatres in the Holy Land currently identified through excavation, see Zeev Weiss, "Adopting a Novelty: the Jews and the Roman Games in Palestine," in T*he Roman and Byzantine Near East*, ed. J. H. Humphrey (Portsmouth, RI: 1999), 24.

BCE, used the craft of acting as a metaphor for feigned piety.[2] When Elihu admonishes Job, his long-winded defense of God uses the word for actor, *hypocritēs*, to designate men who only pretend to be righteous:

> Those who are actors at heart prefer anger; they will not be helped when they need it. Let their souls die, then, in their arrogance . . .[3]

When speaking in Greek, Elihu characterizes religious pretense as play-acting;[4] as tempting as it is to see this through the prism of Roman class and gender biases, the Septuagint was created during a period when theatre performers still enjoyed social standing; as members of sacred guilds, their careers sometimes included government service. The Septuagint's negative use of theatrical vocabulary, then, is rooted in an indigenous, theological and cultural reaction against an alien art form.[5]

---

[2] See Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, 126-132, for the term ὑποκρῐτής and its associations with both leading and supporting actors during the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

[3] *Job* 36:13-14. The Revised Standard Version of the passage renders the Hebrew word, which the Septuagint translates "ὑποκρῐτάι," as "godless."

[4] As Ceslas Spicq points out, in the Septuagint "*hypokrinomai* (Hebrew *ānâh*) becomes a sin" (*Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*, trans. James D. Ernest, 4 vols. (New York: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994), 3:408). See also Spicq's account of *hypokrinomai*'s changes in meaning (*Theological Lexicon*, 3.406-413). Passages in the Septuagint using theatrical language include: *Job* 15:34 & 34:30, *2 Macc* 6:21, 24 & 25, and *Sir* (*Ecclesiasticus*, or the *Wisdom of the Son of Sirach*, considered apocryphal in the West) 35:15, 36:2. The passages in *Job* and *Sir* are in the same spirit as the quote above, while *2 Macc* tells of the martyrdom of an elder, Eleazar, who refuses to dissemble (*hypokrithēnai*) by pretending to eat pork.

[5] For the political careers of distinguished actors before Roman times see Margarete Bieber, *The History of The Greek and Roman Theater*, 2nd. ed. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961), 83 & n. 24. Paulette Ghiron-Bistagne dates the idea of forming the first professional guilds to ca. 320 BCE, when actors in Alexander the Great's entourage in Asia Minor suddenly found themselves without his protection (or salary) upon his untimely death (*Recherches sur les Acteurs dans la Grèce Antique* (Research on Actors in Ancient Greece) (Paris: Société "Les Belles Lettres" 1976), 67-68 & 163-164). E. J. Jory notes there were associations of *scribae* and *histriones* in Rome perhaps as early as the third century BCE, whose members enjoyed privileges much like those of their Hellenistic counterparts, exemption from military service included ("Associations of Actors in Rome," *Hermes* 98 (1970), 224-236). Charles Garton points out that not all Roman actors were from the slave class, citing extant references to citizen actors, including those of equestrian rank, into the early Common Era (see "Register of Augustan Actors," in his *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972), 267-283). Pickard-Cambridge, however, points out that wealthy patrons often bought positions with the *technitae* to avoid their civic obligations, triggering additional imperial legislation to prevent it from happening again (*Dramatic Festivals of Athens*., 301-302 & App. 17).

The similar use of theatrical language in the Gospels can be read, then, as reflecting traditional Jewish attitudes towards pagan actors and the theatre.[6] The Book of Matthew, written specifically for the Jewish reader, has a decidedly anti-theatrical bent and features Jesus' condemnation of public piety as a recurring theme:

> Beware of practicing your piety before men in order to be seen by them; for then you will have no reward from your Father who is in heaven. Thus, when you give alms, sound no trumpet before you, as the actors [*hypokritai*] do in the synagogues and in the streets, that they may be praised by men.[7]

Although Jesus was not attacking Roman civic paganism in this passage, given Rome's emphasis on piety as a social practice Jesus' critique inevitably reflected on that tradition. Jesus speaks from an awareness of the performative aspects of piety in the public sphere, and seems to reject ritual performance and public ritual spaces. Even devotional acts like ritual fasting were to be hidden behind clean-scrubbed faces, and acknowledged only inside the confines of one's oil-anointed head.[8] This understanding of piety as a non- or anti-social act leads directly to a confrontation among the Apostles, as reflected in the letters of Paul and James, over the value of faith vs. works, i.e., inner spirituality vs. its outward signs.[9]

---

[6] For a collection of direct quotes from the Greek New Testament, see Horst Bachmann and Wolfgang A. Slaby, eds., *Concordance to the Novum Testamentum Graece*, 3rd ed. (New York: De Gruyter, 1987), 1847, s.vv. *ὑποκρίνομαι, ὑπόκρῐσις, ὑποκρῐτής*. Beyond a few scattered remarks in the Talmud, Jewish leaders felt little need to weigh in against the theatre; as Saul Lieberman points out, "Unlike the earlier Hellenistic Jews the Rabbis were no longer struggling with gentile paganism. They mostly preached to Jews . . . In the first centuries C. E. the Jews were so far removed from clear-cut idolatry that there was not the slightest need to argue and to preach against it" (see *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1950), 120-121).

[7] *Matt* 6:1-2, *RSV*. The word used here for "streets" also carries with it the sense of a flow or flowing crowd, and can be read as connoting streets and alleys filled with citizens for services, processions, or performances. See Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. Henry Stuart Jones, 9th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), and Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), s.v. *ῥύμη*.

[8] *Matt* 6:16-18.

[9] For a recent discussion of this debate in the context of Jewish ritual see Ithamar Gruenwald, *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2003), 231 & ff. Gruenwald depicts Paul as

The use of the theatre artist as a metaphor would have drawn some of its moral force from the reader's acquaintance with the theatre and especially mimes – the artists who used their own facial expressions, vocal inflections and gestures in order to appear to be people they were not.[10] Both the Septuagint and the Gospels provided the foundation for the Church Fathers' condemnation of hypocrisy at the social, religious, and theatrical levels. Iosef Vivilakes, in his study of the uses of theatrical language by the Church Fathers, describes how literal and metaphorical uses of theatrical language existed side-by-side.[11]

Questions of immorality and idolatry aside, the clergy's chief objections to the actor's profession were rooted in an understanding of biblical narrative; sixth-century Archbishop Severus of Antioch appeals to the both the Genesis myth and the Gospels in his critique of the mimes:

> Do we not invite the wrath and anger of God when we laugh upon seeing a man assaulted – God's creation, into whose face God breathed the breath of

---

writing from the perspective of a Jew who, living in the Hellenistic Diaspora, no longer regarded the Temple in Jerusalem as the focus of his religious life, but who sought nevertheless to create rituals for his new religious community.

[10] For a delineation of the basic forms of acting during the Late Roman Empire and Early Byzantine period see Georgios I. Theocaridis, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Profantheaters im IV. und V. Jahrhundert, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Predigten des Johannes Chrysostomos, Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (Contributions towards a history of the Profane Byzantine Theatre in the 4th and 5th centuries, principally on the basis of the Sermons of John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople) (Thessalonica, 1940); an English language summary of Theocharidis' findings can be found in T. D. Barnes, "Christians and the Theater," 168-169. Barnes argues that the arts of the *pantomimos*, *tragoidos* and *komoidos* were limited by Early Byzantine times to performing excerpts from mythology, tragedy, and comedy respectively, full-length dramas having died out ca. 230 CE ("Christians ," 171). Among Byzantines the pantomime and mime were the most popular (if not the only) traditional theatrical entertainers. Although the term "mime" encompasses various kinds of performers – acrobats, musicians, etc. – this section will focus on those who were actors.

[11] As Vivilakes concludes, "Although the term *hypokrinomai* is definitely charged with moral content, the old meaning is preserved of performing on the theatrical stage; and indeed this meaning is also used within the context of the 'world-stage.' The word *hypokrisis*, on the other hand, principally means feigned behavior, which is associated directly with faith in God; nevertheless, it also signifies imitation and an actor's playing . . ." ("Ἡ Θεατρική Ὁρολογία στούς Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· Συμβολή στή Μελέτη τῆς Σχεσέως Ἐκκλησίας καί Θεάτρου (Theatrical terminology among the Church Fathers: a contribution to the study of the connection between the Church and the Theatre)," (Ph.D. diss, University of Athens, 1996), 307).

> life so that he might be respected even by the angels, and who was also honored by the Word of God, which became man for our sake . . . a countenance honored to such high degree, nay even one who has been doubly celebrated, don't you think it strikes terror and fright into the very Heavenly Host itself he is outrageously assaulted and put to ridicule?[12]

Grafting the biblical narrative of creation in God's image and the incarnation of Christ onto the Roman body, Severus positioned acting and theatre-going as a waste of God's gifts.

As the Divine Liturgy began to take shape during the Early Byzantine period, the concept of mimes and pantomimes as enactors – and hence as agents – of falsehood would contrast sharply with the Orthodox ritual aesthetic of the priest as an advocate devoid of any personal agency. The new, imperial setting of the Liturgy would reinforce the notion of the clergy's powerlessness; but the theology of clerical non-agency was to have a somewhat ironic impact on the Church's attitudes towards actors. The lines between reality and hypocrisy and between ritual and theatrical action would occasionally become blurred, and the Orthodox ritual aesthetic formed the basis for a cutting critique of the Roman tradition of Christian ritual satire.[13]

This chapter will begin by exploring the performance practices and "dramatic" aspects of the Orthodox Liturgy, focusing particularly on the ritual aesthetic of the Divine Liturgy of John Chrysostom, which has been the standard Orthodox Liturgy

---

[12] Severus of Antioch, "Homily 54," after the French translation in Rubens Duval, *Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche*, vol. 1, *Homélies LII a LVII*, *Patrologia Orientalis* 4.1 (1908), 55.

[13] With the legalization of Christianity, piety expressed itself in increasingly bizarre, sometimes literally theatrical acts. Public displays of piety met with mixed reviews; see for example Blake Leyerle's *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostom's Attack on Spiritual Marriage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), concerning co-ed ascetic households. The career of Symeon the Holy Fool also attested to the power of performing one's contempt for society on the streets (see Derek Krueger, *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). By the seventh century ascetics even pretended to be mimes as a sign of humility; on the urban saints Theophilus and Maria see E. W. Brooks, "John of Ephesus: *Lives of the Eastern Saints* (1)," *Patrologia Orientalis* 19 (1926), 166-177.

since the Middle Byzantine period. Having delineated the Orthodox clergy's mode of performance, we will then examine the impact the Orthodox theology of ritual performance had on the Church's attitude toward mimes, and especially toward the mimes' habit of mocking the rite of baptism on-stage. This distinction between ritual and theatrical aesthetics, between the mime and the priest, will prove to be vital to an understanding of the conduct and interpretation of the Late Byzantine *Office of the Three Children*, which will be the focus of the present study's final three chapters.

The Divine Liturgy: Ritual or Drama?

The first question for this chapter has been the subject of speculation for generations; and as with other matters Byzantine, western assumptions have colored much past research. Since at least the time of E. Du Méril's study on the origins of modern theatre in medieval sacred drama,[14] there has been an enduring conceptual link between ritual and theatre – at first in terms of cause and effect, and later – as with the theories of Schechner and Turner – in terms of symbiosis.[15] So far, Byzantine ritual has refused to adhere to either of these schemes.

Michal Kobialka's critique of the historian's project in *This is My Body*, although focused on the Medieval west, goes some way towards explaining the failure of past studies of Byzantine ritual. For Kobialka, the failure lies in the strategies that are routinely employed, because they tend to isolate the object of study from its larger context. Imposing a narrative and/or "scientific" scheme onto

[14] See Sandro Sticca, "The *Christos Paschon* and the Byzantine Theatre," *Comparative Drama* 8 (1974), 14-15, on Du Méril's contribution to Medieval scholarship. Du Méril's theories were to have a profound impact on the study of Byzantine dramatic literature (see Sticca, "The *Christos Paschon*," 21-23, on the work of George la Piana).

[15] See Michal Kobialka, *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999), 1-18, for a summary of contemporary approaches to medieval drama.

complex cultural phenomena involves the silencing of voices that might undermine the writer's conceit. Kobialka admits however that thorough, contextual analysis is easier said than done:

> If history, and to be more precise the writing of history, is a narrative that recounts and interprets events, the historian is challenged not to fall prey to countless practices of rearranging an aspect of a past reality –or should I say, its appearance – to give it an autonomy and independence that it never had. The challenge is to think about an event without conforming to schemes and sets of dispositions that legitimate one's position in a field.[16]

It is a given that primary sources, when they attempt to impose their own narrative conceits on events, are to be taken with a grain of salt; Kobialka asks that we apply the same critical approach to our own efforts. The present section, then, will critique modern notions about the Orthodox rite's "theatricality" and "dramaticity" through a close reading of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

As a general exegetical strategy, portraying the Divine Liturgy as a historical drama offers modern lay readers an easy way to appreciate the service as a whole. But this narrative conceit, through sheer repetition, has come to be confused with the rite's essence. Why not regard the Divine Liturgy as a drama when figures as authoritative as Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia (late fourth-early fifth century CE) seem to invite us to do so? The answer, in a nutshell, is: because it was not conceived as a drama, nor was it performed as one.

Although Byzantine commentators evoked the historical narrative of Christ's ministry, passion and resurrection in their description of the Liturgy, this evocation appealed to the lay reader's desire for a familiar motif and not to any essential feature of the rite's performance. Even those who used this narrative strategy encouraged the

---

[16] Kobialka, *This is My Body*, 27-28.

reader to use other, allegorical strategies at the same time. History, to be sure, lay at the foundation of Christian dogma; but the Liturgy was not designed to dwell on historical facts so much as commemorate them, and incorporate them into a performance whose ultimate focus was spiritual.[17]

Drama as if Aristotle Mattered

The Church Fathers responsible for giving the Liturgy its substance were educated men who understood what a drama was; moreover, having grown up in Roman cities they had a vivid understanding of the actor's craft. Hence, whether as students or as observers of the social scene they would have been acquainted with Aristotle's concept of the drama:

> Tragedy, then, is mimesis of an action which is elevated, complete, and of magnitude; in language embellished by distinct forms in its sections; employing the mode of enactment, not narrative; and through pity and fear accomplishing the catharsis of such emotions . . . tragedy as a whole must have six components which give its qualities – namely, plot, character, diction, thought, spectacle, and lyric poetry.[18]

As tedious as it may seem to rehearse the *Poetics* here, the fact remains that generations of otherwise intelligent scholars, when they have bothered to consult Aristotle at all,[19] have tended to treat these descriptions like *à la carte* menus, which they are not. As Aristotle makes clear in his analysis, and as the Church Fathers would have experienced (albeit in the form of mime and pantomime), it is the *sum*

---

[17] On the origins of the so-called "historic" mystagogy, more commonly used among Syrian commentators like Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia, see René Bornert, *Les Commentaires Byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VIIe au XVe Siècle* (Byzantine Commentaries on the Divine Liturgy from the 7th to the 15th Century) (Paris: Institute Français d'Études Byzantines, 1966), 72-82.
[18] Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans. Halliwell, 47-49.
[19] One example: George La Piana, whose article on Byzantine theatre has dominated English-language treatments on the subject for generations (see The Byzantine Theatre." *Speculum* 11 (1936), 171-211), never bothered to consult Aristotle in his own work; see the index to his magnum opus, *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Litteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al Secolo IX, con Rapporti al Teatro Sacro d'Occidente* (Grotteferrata: "St.Nilo," 1912), 241.

total of all these elements that defines drama as a specific mimetic art. Although drama may share any number of literary or performance elements with the Liturgy, it remains distinct because of the drama's unique combination of elements, enactment being the most characteristic.

A close reading of the Divine Liturgy indicates that Chrysostom and his predecessors took specific steps to avoid the perception that they were creating a drama. The first and most important step was the avoidance of what Aristotle calls enactment:[20] at no time during the Liturgy do any of the celebrants – priests, deacons, chanters – assume the role of a character, fictive or historical. The "I" of the celebrant is that of the human being himself, not an Oedipus or Prometheus, and certainly not a Christ or Apostle. And there is evidence that Chrysostom's ritual aesthetic was rooted in the liturgical practice of the earlier Christian community.

Early rites: Suppers, Readings & Enactments

In a series of studies, liturgical historians Juan Mateos and Robert Taft have traced the origins and changes in Orthodox ritual practice. Their work has revealed a considerable number of additions to what was once a private, solemn meal. By the second century, Justin Martyr attested to an order of services that formed the core of the Byzantine Liturgy:

---

[20] Although O. B. Hardison is dismissive of Karl Young's theory of "impersonation" (see *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1965, Reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983), 30-34), he nevertheless comes up with his own definition, which attempts to take into account a western Medieval perspective: "To imitate action dramatically, the playwright must place it in a context of physical space and time, and this is necessarily the result of his assumptions about space and time . . ." (*Christian Rite*, 21). Hardison contrasts the timelessness and unlocalized space evoked by the Mass with the specific places and times implied by the enactment of biblical episodes. His perception that the Mass lacks enactment bears more scrutiny, however, as shall be discussed below.

> On the so-called day of the Sun, all who live in cities or in the country gather to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and . . . when our prayer is ended, bread and wine and water are brought to the president, who in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen; and there is a distribution to each . . .[21]

What emerges from this brief description is a combination of order and informality; the readers were given leave to read as long as seemed appropriate; bread, water and wine, which we know from other sources was traditionally donated by the congregation,[22] are brought to the presiding clergy. And for all the formality of sermon and prayer, there is no sense of physical or aural separation between the priest and his fellow Christians. Services in Justin's time were conducted in the confined space of what amounted to a spacious second-floor apartment (the *domus ecclesiae*); the intimate physical setting alone may have dictated a less ritualized mode of performance.

The legalization and imperial sponsorship of Christianity, along with the gift of sizable public buildings for services, eventually resulted in the formalization and ritualization of what had once been a more informal rite focused more on fellowship and communal meals than musical or oral display. Although openness and transparency remained the dominant performance aesthetic for centuries, the adoption

---

[21] Justin Martyr, "First Apology," 1.67, translation in Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, eds., *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations and Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* (Edinburgh: T. and T. Scott, 1867-1872, reprint; Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1973), 1.186. Compare also with *Apol*. 1.65, which gives a more detailed account of the communion rite: "Having ended the prayers, we salute one another with a kiss. There is then brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water; and he taking them, gives praise and glory to the Father of the universe, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and offers thanks at considerable length for our being counted worthy to receive these things at his hands . . ." (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 1.185).

[22] See for example Taft, *The Great Entrance*, 14.

of the basilica with its vast, open vertical and horizontal structures prompted a variety of responses from a newly-empowered clergy. It was not a matter of ritual performers having a ready-made liturgy that filled the vast interiors of their new spiritual homes. Form would dictate function, and not vice versa.

Sanctuary and *Synthronon*, *Solea* and *Ambo* [23]

The first wave of change involved the demarcation of a specific area for the celebrants: with a tall, elongated nave and ample side-aisles for the congregation, the apse – oriented eastward to take advantage of the symbolism of the rising sun – became a natural locus of activity. As discussed above the *synthronon*, with its semi-circular *cavea*-like seating for the emperor and his advisors, provided the hierarchs with a place to sit facing the congregation. This imperialization of the Church hierarchy substantially altered the ritual performers' mode of self-presentation; the Church's system of authority – already loosely based on the Roman political model – now took on aspects that were by turns more concrete and symbolic. Having horizontally integrated their authority with that of the emperor, the next step – taken at some time in the fifth or sixth centuries – was to vertically integrate the ensemble of performers with a "heavenly hierarchy" which, in the neo-platonic vision of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, celebrated the heavenly Liturgy before the Almighty.[24]

---

[23] For an important early study confirming the layout of sanctuary, *solea* and *ambo* in Constantinople's Hagia Sophia, see S. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier." For a contemporary account see Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 219-223. As with the section on architecture above the following summary is by no means complete but refers to general trends in architectural and liturgical changes.

[24] See for example Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, "The Celestial Hierarchy," in *Pseudo-Dionysius: the Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 145-191. The original Dionysius was the legendary first convert to Christianity during the Apostle Paul's visit to Athens; his

The sanctuary was set apart by a low barrier, the chancel screen, where – at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, at least – the laity could gather to watch as the celebrants went about their business. The openness with which the Early Byzantine Liturgy was performed had its disadvantages – Chrysostom complained about the distraction of women hanging out by the screen trying to catch the eye of his co-celebrants[25] – but the rite and its performers remained visually accessible well into the Middle Ages. This, in spite of the fact that Early Byzantine congregations appear to have learned their church etiquette in the theatre or hippodrome; apart from crowding the sanctuary, the vastness of the (then) basilica of Hagia Sophia also provided any number of places for gossip, business deals and – if Chrysostom is to be believed – assignations.[26]

When the time came for readings from the Gospels, a reader (either a deacon or a priest) would emerge from the central doorway of the sanctuary holding the Gospel book and proceed due west into the nave along a raised, enclosed walkway known as the *solea*: Paul the Silentiary, in his description of Justinian's Hagia Sophia, offers a vivid description of the laity's reaction to this event:

> The priest with the good message passes by, holding the golden Bible; and when the crowd surges in mystical honor of the Immaculate God in order to touch the sacred book with their lips and hands, countless moving waves of people break around. Thus is the path, stretched like an isthmus, wave-washed on either side, leading the priest to the holy place of the ambo.[27]

---

conversion is commemorated in modern-day Athens by the names of the two main streets that skirt the Akropolis.

[25] See Robert Taft, "The Decline of Communion in Byzantium and the Distancing of the Congregation from the Liturgical Action: Cause, Effect, Neither?," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (forthcoming).

[26] See Taft, "Decline of Communion."

[27] Paul Silentiary, *Description of Hagia Sophia*, as cited by Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier," 14-15. Paul's reference to the priest can be misconstrued to mean that priests did both the reading and the sermon that followed; but it is commonly accepted that the readings were delegated to deacons and other low-ranking celebrants (see Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 227).

Even allowing for rhetorical flourishes, Paul's description reinforces the participatory nature of the Liturgy.

Having walked through this gauntlet, the reader would climb the steps to the *ambo*, an elevated pulpit in the center of the nave whose platform was oval-shaped.[28] Although most extant ambos – including one in the garden of Hagia Sophia Museum in Istanbul – are built on a smaller scale, a large *ambo* platform in the museum at the church of St. Demetrius in Thessalonica offers a clue to how the its shape and symbolism functioned in larger, metropolitan churches. The platform at St. Demetrius has a flat surface on top, while the underside is convex with the "Sign of Constantine," the *chi-rho* – engraved upon it. The resulting image is that of a soldier's shield, of the sort used when the army proclaimed an emperor's election. This shield motif reinforces the parallelism between secular and ecclesiastical authority in Byzantium, and makes explicit the church's usage of political rather than theatrical models in their spatial practice.[29]

Lost in most analyses of the *ambo* is the fact that it also served the acoustical function of placing the speaker where his voice would carry farthest into a now-vast church interior.[30] In part because of the emphasis on fellowship and in part because early services were conducted in small spaces, acoustics were not a concern for the

---

[28] Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier," 14 and Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 223.

[29] For the conduct of imperial coronations on the *ambo* see Majeska, "The Emperor in His Church," 2-4.

[30] Mainstone (*Hagia Sophia*, 222) notes that the ambo was positioned slightly east of center in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; although no detailed studies of Hagia Sophia's acoustics are known to the present author, the *ambo* might have enabled the priest to use the great dome overhead as an acoustical aid, when speaking to the laity. Although some smaller ambos (like that in the Late Byzantine church of the Dormition of the Virgin in Kalambaka, Greece) included a small dome overhead – erected, presumably, to direct the sound waves of the priest's voice downward to the congregation – Xydis' reconstruction of the ambo at Hagia Sophia ("The Chancel Barrier," 32 & figs. 32-33) does not include a ceiling, reinforcing the notion that the dome – however high up – may have been incorporated into the nave's acoustic design.

newly-legalized Church – hence the reluctance to adopt the *bouleterion* or *odeon* as architectural models. Only with the adoption of the basilica did officials realize the need for acoustical design. Even then, ambos were designed initially for Gospel readings alone, and it was only later under Chrysostom that the clergy would use the *ambo*, instead of their throne in the *synthronon*, as the site for their homilies. In this case, ritual form was dictated by acoustical needs, with symbolic interpretations of the site developing soon after.

The Art of the Homily

In the Early Byzantine period, when most conversions took place at adulthood and where the early part of the Liturgy was open to non-Christians, catechumens and penitents,[31] the reading and sermon occurred together. In this context the readings became shorter and more focused and sermons – like John Chrysostom's on the Gospels, for example – were designed to evangelize those who had not yet converted, and teach catechumens the literal and spiritual meaning of the passage read on that day. Referred to as a *homilia*, "conversation" (a reflection of its roots in a less formal rite), the sermon was delivered by a priest or higher church authority. But with the new, monumental space and the priest's new vertical alignment – now standing physically above the laity, and (by virtue of his training) ideologically above or

[31] The early Church established a series of dismissals for various portions of the congregation such as penitents, catechumens, and curious outsiders. By the last dismissal, after the sermon, only the faithful in good standing were left to witness the entrance of the Eucharistic elements and the Communion that followed. See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Dismissal," I:639. For how various classes among the congregation were defined see e.g. Canons 11-14 of the Council of Nicaea in Norman P. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:11-13 (Latin with English translation). Further information can be found in John Fulton, trans., *Index Canonum* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1892), 200-201 [Canon 6, Council Ancyra, on the three steps towards conversion] and especially 254-255 [Canon 19, Council of Laodicaea, on the order of services/dismissals].

'outside' the scripture[32] – came a more stylized mode of self-presentation; and so was born one of Byzantium's most sophisticated performing arts.

As a solo performer confronted each Sunday with a virtual sea of hundreds (if not thousands) of friends and strangers, the priest relied on the principles of classical rhetoric to keep them both engaged and informed. The art of rhetoric had been practiced since ancient times, and Byzantium's most accomplished homilists – such as St. John Chrysostom (4th-5th centuries), Patriarch Photios (9th century), and Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonica (12th-13th centuries) to name but a few – had been trained in rhetoric and the classics prior to assuming the priesthood.

Extant books of rhetorical exercises – *progymnasmata* – from the Early Byzantine period indicate that a trained rhetor's arsenal included a wide variety of techniques. Of particular interest is the homilist's use of *ethopoeia* or 'characterization,' in which the priest assumed a biblical figure's voice; this often took the form of a dialogue involving two or more characters.[33] In the past, homilies with dialogue have been ideologically positioned as proto-dramatic, on the assumption that ritual must inexorably give way to drama.[34] The clergy's theological objections to play-acting, however, and the conservative mode of male self-presentation in classical rhetoric argue heavily against this theory.[35]

---

[32] As discussed in Mary Cunningham, "Dramatic Device or didactic tool? The function of dialogue in Byzantine preaching," in *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys (London: Ashgate, 2003), 104.

[33] La Piana popularized the term "dramatic homily" to describe these sermons; see for example *Rappresentazioni Sacre*, 37-41.

[34] La Piana, *Rappresentazioni Sacre*, 37-41. As Mary Cunningham has pointed out, La Piana claimed that these dialogues were performed theatrically in the church – this, in spite of a complete lack of evidence ("Dramatic device?," 102 & n. 6).

[35] On the gender values inherent in classical rhetoric see especially Maud Gleason's *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), and

Although it is true that the art of *ethopoeia* appears to have provided citizens (i.e., non-actors) with a socially acceptable way to practice their mimetic skills, as taught in the rhetoric schools it was only one strategy among many used in the course of a single speech. A truly "dramatic" use of this form would have required the exclusive use of *ethopoeia*, and as both Christians and trained rhetoricians these homilists would have known better than to indulge in non-stop histrionics.[36] Mary Cunningham has pointed out that *ethopoeia* in homilies was merely a means to an end, as well as a means of establishing a priest's authority over sacred text:

> The use of dialogue enhances the authority of the preacher as he reveals his ability to interpret and even paraphrase biblical readings. Furthermore, dialogue may function as a method for conveying doctrinal teaching to the congregation in a way that, like artistic depictions of festal scenes, is vivid and easy to understand.[37]

Given these concerns, an overemphasis on dramatic display would have undermined the priest's spiritual authority, and would have distracted from the day's lesson.

One indication of Byzantine clergy's concerns about being perceived as entertainers comes from the mouth of John Chrysostom himself. Digressing from a homily on *Acts*, he chastises his flock for applauding his sermons and criticizes himself for seeking their approval:

> Instead of looking for a speech in a spirit of repentance and piety, you only chase after words that flatter the ear, as if you'd come to hear a singer or flute-

---

Erik Gunderson's *Staging Masculinity: The Rhetoric of Performance in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000).

[36] See for example George A. Kennedy, ed., *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 115-117, for an account of *ethopoeia* by a contemporary and classmate of John Chrysostom, Aphthonius. (Both Aphthonius and Chrysostom studied under Libanius of Antioch in the mid-to-late fourth century CE).

[37] Cunningham, "Dramatic Device?," 113.

> player . . . and we are such appalling cowards that we encourage this kind of selfishness when we ought to exterminate it.[38]

Ashamed to be so entertaining, and comparing his speech to theatrical pop music, Chrysostom insisted that his flock remain silent while he spoke. And although not all clergy were as strict in their self-criticism, there is as yet no evidence that Chrysostom or any of his successors crossed the line into explicit theatricality.

New Spatial Strategies: the Small and Great Entrances

Two of the most familiar motifs in the Divine Liturgy as it is practiced today are its indoor processions: one preceding readings from the New Testament – the Small Entrance – and one for the introduction of the Eucharistic elements into the sanctuary – the Great Entrance. In both cases, the celebrants emerge from a chamber on the north side of the sanctuary, the *prothesis*, walk down the north aisle of the nave and then return down the center of the nave towards the sanctuary.

Because the Small Entrance brings to mind the procession of the Torah in the Synagogue rite, it can give the impression that the Liturgy borrowed from Jewish precedent. But the original itinerary for the reader was much simpler; the New Testament was kept in the sanctuary on the altar,[39] and was taken up the *solea* to the *ambo* and back. Even in the mid-sixth century (per Paul the Silentiary's description above) the *solea* provided the laity with ample opportunity to interact with the book. It would only be in the generations after Paul the Silentiary's description, during the late sixth century – and well beyond the time when the Synagogue rite would have

---

[38] John Chrystostom, *Act. Apost.* 30.3; Greek in *Patrologia Graeca*, 60.225, translation after *Oeuvres Complètes de S. Jean Chrysostome*, trans. J. Bareille, vol. 15 (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1870), 146.
[39] Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 227.

had any influence[40] – that the reader might have abandoned the *solea*, proceeded down the North Aisle, and returned via the west end of the nave to the *ambo*.

Juan Mateos points out that although both the New Testament and the Eucharist had their own processions, the specific terms Small and Great Entrance are not actually attested until the Late Byzantine period,[41] and the exact itinerary of the Small Entrance was not specified.[42] Whatever the route and however one chooses to chart its changes, readings came to be a much more formal affair than in Justinian's time. Likewise, the history of the Great Entrance reflects a tendency to ritualize what for centuries had been a perfunctory act; in the early Church the deacons, having selected bread and wine donated by the laity, would simply transfer the gifts to the sanctuary without any fanfare. As noted above, at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople the gifts were kept in the *skeuophylakion*; so for years the deacons simply exited the church through the northern door to the sanctuary, fetched the bread and wine, and returned. Only after Justinian's Hagia Sophia had been complete for a generation or more do ritual performers begin to exploit the symbolic possibilities of this entrance. The Eucharist then became the focus of an elaborate procession through the nave of the church while a newly composed hymn, the *Cherubikon*, reconfigured the act of fetching bread and wine into a spiritual event:

---

[40] On more generally acknowledged borrowings from the Synagogue rite see Anton Baumstark, *Comparative Liturgy*, trans. F. L. Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958), 43-51.

[41] Juan Mateos, *La Célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie Byzantine* (The Service of the Word in the Byzantine Liturgy) (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1971), 72.

[42] For instance, in some cases the celebrants assembled with a church hierarch behind the main entrance to the nave (in the narthex) and walked from there up to the ambo; in other cases, there was a brief ceremony inside the sanctuary that included a walk around the altar (where the book is placed at the beginning of the service) and a ceremonial presentation of the book to the deacon before they exit through the north entrance to the sanctuary (or prothesis chamber) and, presumably, wind their way through the north aisle before coming to the *ambo* (Mateos, *Célébration*, 73-79).

> We who mystically represent the cherubim and sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity, let us now lay aside all worldly care to receive the King of all escorted unseen by the angelic corps. Alleluia![43]

The Great Entrance quickly came to symbolize the Liturgy itself;[44] the timing of this procession's creation, however, indicates that it was the result of ongoing negotiations between ritual performers and their now-massive performance space – Justinian's Hagia Sophia was for centuries the largest interior space in the world. Rowland Mainstone finds that the chief virtue of both these entrances was that the performers brought the Liturgy out into the nave and among the laity. The massive scale of the nave had rendered necessary "a greater emphasis on actions in the centre of the nave than on those in the sanctuary – not because these latter actions were hidden by screens or veiled by curtains but just because they were more remote."[45] Instead of being traditional, both entrances developed out of the need to interact with the congregation; and with time, the clergy found ways to integrate these processions theologically into the spiritual focus of the Liturgy.

The Mystical Supper: Commemoration vs. Representation

As in the Western Mass, the moment during the Liturgy that might be construed as especially dramatic is the recitation of the "institution narrative," a commemoration of the Last Supper (which is known in the Orthodox tradition as *mystikos deipnos*, the "Mystical Supper"). In both traditions the priest reads the narrative passage as part of a series of prayers inviting the Holy Spirit to transform the gifts into the body and blood of Christ. The key difference, the origins of which

---

[43] As quoted in Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church: an initial synthesis of structure and interpretation on the eve of Iconoclasm," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35 (1980-1981): 53.
[44] As noted by Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 53 & n. 55.
[45] Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 231.

will be detailed below, is that in the Catholic rite the priest appears to enact Jesus at the Last Supper, whereas the Orthodox priest merely commemorates the supper by reciting a snippet of narrative in the midst of a series of prayers. Here is how the narrative is introduced in the Orthodox rite:

> . . . You are holy and most holy, and sublime is Your glory. You so loved Your world that You gave Your only begotten Son so that whoever believes in Him should not perish, but have eternal life. He came and fulfilled the divine plan for us. On the night when He was betrayed, or rather when He gave Himself up for the life of the world, He took bread in His holy, pure, and blameless hands, gave thanks, blessed, sanctified, broke, and gave it to His holy disciples and apostles, saying . . .[46]

These words are uttered privately, with the priest simply reading or reciting the prayer. The priest raises his voice to recite Jesus' own words audibly for the congregation, and with each of the two quotes from the Mystical Supper – "Take this and eat . . ." and "Take this and drink . . ." – the deacon, standing nearby, gestures first to the paten with the Eucharistic bread, and then to the chalice with the wine. In the context of an open-air sanctuary, it is possible that the deacon's gestures might remind the congregation of the institutional narrative; but since the liturgical context is a priest's private prayers to God, the gestures also help designate the bread and wine on the altar for the Holy Spirit's benefit.[47] Whatever the intent the tableau is a static one, and the lack of any element of enactment confirms that the recitation is commemorative in tone.

---

[46] From "The Holy Anaphora" in *The Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostomos* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1985), 21. The language of blessing and sanctifying the bread *before* distribution evokes the traditional Friday Sabbath meal; in the Orthodox tradition the "Mystical Supper," as it is called, took place before Passover and used leavened bread. See Mahlon H. Smith III, *And Taking Bread . . . Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1978), 30-32.

[47] For the rubrics for this passage see Isabel Florence Hapgood, *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church, Compiled, Translated and Arranged from the Old Church-Slavonic Service Books of the Russian Church and Collaged with the Service Books of the Greek Church*, 2nd edition (New York: Association Press, 1922), 104.

Shortly after the commemoration of the Mystical Supper, the deacon (not the priest) raises the paten and chalice, making the sign of the cross with each of them, while the priest recites the dedication “Thine own, of thine own, we offer unto thee, in behalf of all, and for all” – again, a signal to God that these are the gifts for blessing.[48] Throughout this sequence in the sanctuary, the laity is treated to chanters singing from a selection of hymns known collectively as the *Koinonikon*, (“Communion”), which – in harmony with the priest’s prayers – point towards the spiritual meaning of what is being said and done inside the sanctuary. The priest continues in a mode of direct address, calling upon God and the Holy Spirit, and reaches the climax with the prayer of *Epiclesis* (“invocation”) specifically asking the Holy Spirit to transform the bread and wine.

The *Epiclesis* occurs long after the narrative has been read; the priest elevates the Eucharistic species (only chest-high and for the benefit of the Holy Spirit, not the congregation) with the simple dedication, “Holy things for the Holy.”[49] And it is only with the completion of the *Epiclesis*, after the bread and wine have been sanctified by the Holy Spirit that the priest breaks the Eucharistic bread accompanied by a statement of the mystical significance of this action:

> The Lamb of God is broken and distributed; broken but not divided. He is forever eaten yet is never consumed, but He sanctifies those who partake of Him.[50]

In a gesture that can be seen as emblematic of Byzantine spirituality, the priest narrates his actions so that breaking off a chunk of bread becomes both an act of

---

[48] Hapgood, *Service Book*, 105.
[49] For the history and various formulas associated with the elevation of the Eucharist in the Orthodox tradition see Robert F. Taft, *The Precommunion Rites* (Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 2000), 248-260.
[50] *Divine Liturgy*, 29.

sacrificial dismemberment and a symbol of Christ's mystical union with the faithful – "broken but not divided." Even the act of consuming the Eucharistic bread and wine is positioned as symbolic, with the mundane, physical aspects of communion – eating and drinking – aligned with an eternal spiritual union of which the Eucharist is a sign.

Given that an early Byzantine congregation could see but not hear much of what was being done here, the question arises: what were the faithful supposed to make of all this? In his survey of Byzantine commentaries on the Liturgy, René Bornert identifies three distinct schools of symbolic interpretation, two of which – the Alexandrian and the Antiochian – responded directly to the Liturgy in its Early Byzantine form.[51]

Bornert begins by distinguishing between two schools of liturgical commentary: by clergy centered in Alexandria, Egypt, which placed greater emphasis on allegorical readings of the Liturgy; and those from the Syrian capitol of Antioch, who tended to emphasize historical readings – i.e., readings rooted in the Gospel accounts of Jesus' life and Passion.[52] For the Alexandrian school, and especially the commentaries of the anonymous author who called himself Dionysius the Areopagite (ca. late 5th-early 6th century), the Liturgy taking place in the church was seen primarily as a symbolic manifestation of the ongoing, eternal heavenly Liturgy. By contrast, Antiochans are said to have stressed what may be considered a lower order of symbolic discourse, explaining the visual aspects of the Liturgy in historical terms.

---

[51] Bornert (*Les Commentaires Byzantins*, 47-52), describes one earlier school of interpretation, Gnostic, that developed around a Eucharistic prayer much closer in spirit to the Jewish *barakah* (i.e., the traditional blessing of bread and wine on the Sabbath); because this older formula had been discarded by the Early Byzantine period, it will not be addressed here.

[52] Apart from their political position in the Roman state, Alexandria and Antioch were two of the five spiritual centers of early Christianity: the other three were Jerusalem, Rome, and Constantinople.

In this scenario, for example, the entrance of the Eucharistic elements is read as Jesus' procession to Golgotha, and the accompanying Deacons as archangels who aided Jesus and witnessed the Crucifixion.[53]

The catechetical homilies of Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 392-428) are usually cited as an example of this so-called Antiochan school.[54] And if Theodore's sermons consisted entirely of this kind of historical catalogue it could, perhaps, be argued that he saw the Eucharistic service as an enactment of the Easter story – and hence, a drama. But Theodore's commentaries, when read in their entirety, stress *both* the historical *and* the spiritual significance of the Liturgy.[55] Theodore wants his congregation to see the service in both "Alexandrian" and "Antiochan" terms; moreover, there is no evidence that he appealed to theatrical jargon.[56] Bornert, having made the distinction between these two schools, nevertheless concludes that there is little difference between Theodore's approach and that of his Egyptian colleagues.[57]

As a practical matter, Theodore and his fellow clergy had to find some way to keep the congregation focused during a part of the Liturgy when their role was a purely passive one. Speaking as he does to catechumens who have never seen the Eucharistic service before, it is no surprise that Theodore appeals to the Gospel

[53] See *Les Commentaires Byzantins*, 72-82.
[54] See Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 62-65.
[55] Bornert cites Didiorus of Tarsus' remark, in his *Commentary on the Psalms*, that "History is not in opposition to a higher contemplation; on the contrary, it is the foundation and the basis of higher considerations" (*Les Commentaires Byzantins*, 72). Theodore's homilies, delivered one century before Pseudo-Dionysius' time, can even be seen as prefiguring the works of the so-called Areopagite; see Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 63, where Taft quotes Theodore *Hom*. 16.15, 18 & 19.
[56] Theodore does not use theatrical terms, even in their more abstract senses, to describe the Liturgy.
[57] Referring to Origen, one of the "founding fathers" of allegorical interpretation, Bornert concludes "La notion de mystère, même si elle est saisie avec beaucoup plus de réalisme par les antiochiens, reste telle qu'Origène l'avait définie (the idea of the mystery, even if it is grasped with much more realism by the Antiocheans, remains much as Origen defined it)" (*Les Commentaires Byzantins*, 82).

narrative they have been taught by rote, and hence to their historical imagination, to introduce the basic concepts behind the service.[58] But Theodore's appeal is multi-layered, and not only does he offer historical and spiritual readings of the Liturgy, he also offers a practical, detailed account of what happens in the sanctuary. Theodore summarizes the contents of his prayers and actions, even as he encourages the congregation to think beyond the visual, material aspects of the Liturgy he performs. Even the so-called "historical school," then, presented the faithful with several options.

As Bornert notes, there is strong evidence of continuity in liturgical commentaries throughout Byzantium's history; the exegetical works of the Alexandrian and Antiochian schools created the foundation of what was to follow.[59] Two medieval theologians, whose works bear directly on the present study, can be said to represent the legacy of these schools: Nicholas Cabasilas' fourteenth-century *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* follows Theodore of Mopsuestia's example in offering a historical interpretation of the visual elements in the service, while at the same time honoring the more mystical aspects of communion, as well as describing and explaining the conduct of the service itself.[60] Meanwhile the early fifteenth-century Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica, in his *Treatise on Prayer*, offers

---

[58] Bornert states that these "Catechetical Homilies" on the Liturgy were addressed to the newly-baptized, and hence served as a means of explaining parts of the Liturgy they had not been allowed to witness prior to baptism (*Les Commentaires Byzantines*, 70).
[59] *Les Commentaires Byzantins*, 267-270.
[60] See especially Nicholas Cabasilas, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty (London: S.P.C.K., 1960), 43-54, for passages that encompass the practical, historical and spiritual aspects of the Liturgy. Cabasilas' importance lies chiefly in his commentary on the Latin Mass, which will be discussed below.

spiritual readings of everything from liturgical actions and parts of the physical church to the number of hymns sung.[61]

The history of Orthodox liturgical commentary, then, is marked by its consistency and continuity. By contrast the west has seen several periods of intense theological speculation, open rebellions and liturgical innovations, with perhaps the most significant changes (for the purposes of this study) occurring during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Gary Macy, in his survey of the western medieval scholastic debate about the Eucharist, cites a number of contributing factors[62] including the rediscovery and re-interpretation of writings by the early Church Fathers. Rather than impose a simple narrative of growing consensus, Macy stresses the variety of conclusions drawn by monks and clergy during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the varieties of ritual practice that occurred during the years leading up to the foundation of the Feast of Corpus Christi.[63]

Attitudes towards the Eucharist in monastic circles varied from the literal (i.e., that it was the body and blood of Christ, to be "broken in the hands of the priest and crushed by the teeth of the faithful")[64] to the symbolic (that the Eucharist was a sign,

---

[61] See for example Symeon of Thessalonica, *Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church*, trans. H. L. N. Simmons (Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984), 26-32; in these passages, entrances into the nave during Orthros (Matins) become symbolic of the soul's ascent to heaven, the central gate into the sanctuary symbolizes the Virgin Mary, and the nine odes of the Canon (based on the nine canticles from the Septuagint) exemplify, in triplicate, the Trinity.

[62] Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist In the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c. 1080 – c. 1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 24-27.

[63] See Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist* , 89: Macy discusses the devotion of Marie of Oignies and her protégé, St. Juliana of Liège for the Eucharist, and of Juliana's role in gaining Pope Urban IV's approval to hold the first Corpus Christi festival in Liège in 1246; Urban would approve the feast throughout the Catholic world in 1264. On the significance of Corpus Christi in the history of western Medieval theatre see Brockett and Hildy, *History of the Theatre*, 82-83.

[64] The bizarre language is from the heretic Berengar of Tours' first forced confession, as cited in Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist.* 36.

and that consuming the bread and wine should inspire the mind to feed invisibly on the Word of God).[65] Although the Orthodox Church had held that the Eucharist was the true body and blood of Christ, the use of leavened bread was also regarded as symbolic of the Trinity and the life-giving force of the Holy Spirit.[66] Thus, the great schism between the churches in 1054 began in a dispute over the use of leavened vs. unleavened bread, but was also rooted in conflicting theologies of the Eucharist, with the Catholic Church firmly in the literalist camp.

The twelfth century witnessed an increased popular devotion to the Eucharist in the West, and an increased desire to see and honor the Eucharist like a saint's relic. Bits of the Eucharistic bread were kept on the altar between services, and miraculous hosts (which reportedly had been transformed into what looked like actual body parts) were honored with glass display cases and tapers;[67] meanwhile in the Cistercian monasteries, priests began raising the Eucharistic species in conjunction with their recitation of Jesus' words at the last Supper. By the turn of the 13th century it was common to have chimes (or even church bells) ring on cue as the priest raised the bread and wine during Mass.[68]

During this same period, however, the laity's access to communion was reduced, and the standardization of canon law appears to have been the culprit.[69] As Macy puts it, "The question of worthy reception [of the Eucharist] tended to become a question of juridical standing rather than a question of spiritual intent."[70] These

[65] See Macy's summary of the theology of Ratramnus, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 28-29.
[66] See Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 72, and Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist,* 38.
[67] On the emergence of this cult see Macy *Theologies of the Eucharist,* 86-88.
[68] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 88-89.
[69] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 106-132.
[70] Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 130.

contradictory tendencies, born out of a literalist theology, popular cult practice and a newly invigorated canon legal system, were resolved in a theology that returned to the symbolic function of the sacraments (*sacramentum* = "sign"). Catholic theologians now made a distinction between physical and spiritual communion, and – perhaps in part because the prospects for physical communion had become more remote – privileged the spiritual. If the Eucharist could be seen once again as a sign, then physical participation in communion was not as important for salvation as ocular participation and contemplation of the Eucharist during (and after) Mass.[71]

With the alignment of the elevation with Jesus' words ("take this and eat," "take this and drink," known by the Latin term *Verba Domini*, "the words of the Lord") and its new status as a moment of ocular, spiritual communion came one more twist to the story. In attempting to fix the precise moment at which the bread and wine were transformed into the body and blood of Christ, Catholic theologians came to the conclusion that it happened when the priest repeated the *Verba Domini*.[72] This conclusion, given the liturgical and theological context of the new Mass, created the impression that a) priests enacted or represented the historical Jesus at the Last Supper, and that b) this act of representation was the most spiritually potent act of the entire Mass.

---

[71] As expressed by the schools of Laon and St. Vincent – see Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 78-86.

[72] Robert Taft cites Joseph Jungmann, who pointed out that until this time neither church had bothered to determine a precise moment of consecration; instead they both seem to have regarded the entire sequence of prayers as effecting the consecration ("Ecumenical Scholarship and the Catholic-Orthodox epiclesis dispute," *Ostkirchliche Studien* 45 (1996): 213). This attitude harmonizes with the Roman concept of ritual performance and *instauration*, which regarded the entire rite's successful performance as essential; in the event of a mistake, the entire rite/festival would have to be conducted again from the beginning to ensure its efficacy.

Representation vs. *Epiclesis*: The Conflict over Ritual Aesthetics

This new attitude towards Catholic ritual ensured that a deep divide would develop between the two churches during the Middle Ages. Doctrinal disputes came to a head during the Late Byzantine period, when a series of emperors (some of them converts to Catholicism) attempted to unify the churches and gloss over serious disagreements on the aesthetics and theology of ritual performance. In spite of the fact that the Catholic Mass had deviated substantially from its earlier form,[73] the integration of narrative, quotations of Jesus, mimetic gesture and consecration into a single event came to be regarded as canonical in the west. Accordingly the Orthodox conduct of the Liturgy – which had remained much the same, in spite of the accretion of certain ceremonials like the Small and Great Entrances – was condemned as heretical by the West. The Catholic Church believed that a priest speaking the words of Jesus at the Last Supper (and, not coincidentally, raising the Host at the same time) effected the consecration, so there was no reason for Orthodox priests to go on praying afterwards. Why did they need an *Epiclesis* prayer, when it was obvious (to any Catholic) that the Holy Spirit had already done its work?[74]

Nicholas Cabasilas, in his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, had the difficult task of teaching Catholics a little bit about their own history, as well as condemning the "innovations" of certain polemicists.[75] Cabasilas writes as a scholar of ritual to

[73] As made clear by Taft, "Epiclesis Dispute," 214.
[74] The Epiclesis prayer became a major bone of contention during the Council of Union in Ferrara and Florence, 1438-1439, with the Pope's delegates demanding that the prayer be erased from the Liturgy. See Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 277.
[75] See Taft, "Epiclesis Dispute," 214, on pronouncements made by the Catholic Church after the Council of Union, and the Orthodox Church's (understandable) refusal to accept them.

other scholars, responding to the charge that Orthodox priests showed little faith in the *Verba Domini* if they continued to use the *Epiclesis* prayer:

> In throwing himself upon God, the man who prays admits that he recognizes his own helplessness and that he is dependent on God for everything. This is not my affair, he says, nor within my powers, but it has need of you, Lord, and I trust it all to you . . . the prayer is neither uncertain nor the result unsure, as the Lord of the gift has in every way made known his desire to grant it. This is why we believe that the sanctification of the mysteries is in the prayer of the priest, certainly not relying on any human power, but on the power of God. We are assured of the result, not by reason of man who prays, but by reason of God who hears; not because man has made a supplication, but because the Truth has promised to grant it.[76]

Here Cabasilas contrasts the traditional Orthodox ritual aesthetic of passivity or non-agency with the newly-formulated Catholic aesthetic of clerical agency. He accused the Catholics of confusing the spiritual power of the words of God – which, once spoken, were always in effect – with those spoken by a mere human being. "The Creator's word is not effective because it is spoken by a man . . . but only because it was once spoken by the Lord."[77] Mere repetition, let alone re-presentation, of Jesus at the Last Supper would not be enough to bring about consecration, since no man had the power to do so.

To this day the Medieval conflict over the *Epiclesis* prayer remains unresolved, in spite of ample evidence (some of it cited by Cabasilas) that at their core, both traditions remained remarkably similar.[78] What continues to separate the two traditions are their diametrically opposed understandings of the position and power of the ritual performer. Where the Orthodox aesthetic was, and remains, non-representational and passive the Catholic aesthetic has, with the reforms of the

---

[76] Cabasilas, *Commentary*, 73-74.
[77] Cabasilas, *Commentary*, 76.
[78] See Cabasilas, *Commentary*, 76-79. Cabasilas explains in detail why he believes "That in the Latin Church the consecration is performed in the same way as by us."

Second Vatican Council, gone further in the direction of representation. Today Catholic priests represent the crucial words and actions of the Last Supper facing the congregation, "downstage center" as it were; meanwhile Orthodox priests maintain their privacy within the sanctuary, with the consecration occurring "off-stage" and the Eucharist emerging only after the prayers are complete. In dramatic terms, the difference in aesthetic can be compared to that of Seneca *versus* Euripides; in ritual terms, the difference is more extreme.

Summary: The Liturgy vs. the Drama

Traditional scholarship on Byzantine sacred drama (either conducted or heavily influenced by westerners) has tended to place artificial categories on various specimens of sacred literature. But given the continuity of classical education in Byzantium, and the high degree of learning among Orthodoxy's most prominent clergy, it is unwise to classify their works as "dramatic" even if, for example, their homilies contain elements of *ethopoeia*, or characterization. "Characterization" was only one of many rhetorical tools used in the course of any sermon, and passages of dialogue in particular must be understood in their rhetorical, exegetical context. Moreover, there is evidence that priests distrusted applause, and regarded it as their duty to enlighten their congregations, not entertain them.

The comparison of liturgical practices east and west has a direct bearing on the issue of theatre and ritual in Byzantium, not least because western scholars tend to use the language of the drama in describing all Christian ritual.[79] Perhaps in part

[79] Joseph A. Jungmann, in his magisterial account of the Roman rite, freely admits that the priest performs a dramatic representation of the Last Supper: "*Während der Priester die Handlungen des Herrn der Reihe nach nennt, vollzieht er sie auch selbst in dramatischer Nachbildung* (While the priest

because western typologies of ritual and drama are usually presented as universal truths, even Orthodox liturgical historians tend to follow western precedent and characterize certain branches of liturgical exegesis as "realistic" or "dramatic," reinforcing the illusion of equivalence.[80]

Recently Michal Kobialka has taken western scholars to task for imposing modern terminology and narratives onto western performance practices during the early Middle Ages, adopting instead the term – representation (Latin: *representatio*, Italian: *rappresentazione*) – that was actually used at that time to describe what performers thought they were doing. Kobialka situates the development of Medieval "drama" in the ritual context described here, when the Catholic Church first privileged representation as a legitimate mode of ritual performance and communion.

Although Kobialka's work marks a significant step forward in western Medieval historiography, as with other western theories and methodologies it may have only limited applicability to Byzantine practice. For there is a fundamental difference in the two church's ritual aesthetics, with the Catholics still following the

---

offers the actions of the Lord in sequence, he also performs them himself in a dramatic reproduction)" (Joseph A. Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: eine genetische Erkälarung der römischen Messe* (*Missarum Sollemnia*: A Geneology of the Roman Mass) (Vienna: Herder, 1948), 2.245). Jungmann's English translator, takes this sentiment even further by making an oblique reference to Hamlet's advice to the players: "As the priest mentions the Lord's actions, one after the other, he suits his own actions to the words in dramatic fashion (see Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development,* trans. Francis A. Brunner (New York: Benziger Brothers Inc., 1955), 2.202). Jungmann notes that the Byzantine rite does not perform the narrative in this way (*Missarum Sollemnia*, 2.246; *Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2.203.).

[80] Even Robert Taft characterizes Theodore of Mopsuestia as giving a dramatic reading of the service; (see again "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 62-65). This tendency to read "drama" into liturgical commentaries is also a commonplace in studies of western theologians: see for example Christine Catharina Schnusenberg, *The Relationship Between the Church and the Theatre: Exemplified by Selected Writings of the Church Fathers and by Liturgical Texts Until Amalarius of Metz – 775-852 A.D* (New York: University Press of America, 1988). Schnusenberg, like Taft, over-emphasizes the evidence for Amalarius' historical or "dramatic" readings of the Catholic Mass, and ignores clear evidence that Amalarius' approach was non-dramatic, rooted as it is in the mult-layered approach of Byzantine theologians.

Medieval fashion for representational acts while the Orthodox, in accordance with a much longer ritual tradition, continue to stress non-representationalism.

The Catholic reforms described here would not be characterized as "progressive" or even "natural" from a Byzantine perspective. Nor, upon closer inspection, could these reforms be regarded as inevitable, along the lines of the ritual-to-theatre theory of cultural development. Contingent as these changes were on theological debate, linguistic barriers to understanding the Mass, popular modes of interaction with the Eucharist, etc., the rebirth of drama in the west hinged on a unique confluence of a number of competing elements – any one of which may have tipped the balance against its revival.

More importantly, these reforms occurred in the context of a scholastic renaissance when monks rediscovered the Church's intellectual heritage (both classical and patristic) for what seemed like the first time since the Dark Ages.[81] From a Byzantine perspective, this rediscovery created an unseemly desire to re-invent the wheel and reopen theological questions that (from an Orthodox perspective) had long since been settled; the field of speculation was so wide open that otherwise intelligent Catholics began to obsess about arcane topics like the post-prandial fate of the Eucharist.[82]

Rediscovery, reinvention and reform on this scale never occurred in Byzantium for the simple reason that classical and patristic literature was never

---

[81] Macy situates the debate in the rediscovery and consequent re-appropriation of patristic literature, but the language on which the debate centered relied on Aristotelian concepts; see Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 71 (but also 37).

[82] For sheer weirdness, it is hard to beat the scholastic obsession with the digestive tract: see Macy, *Theologies of the Eucharist*, 31-32 (for speculations on whether the Host undergoes degredation in the stomach), 49 (for what happens when the Host is eaten and digested by mice), & 54 (on the so-called *stercorista*, the "Crappists").

forgotten in the first place. And the failure of Catholic theologians to understand the concept of an unbroken, living tradition mirrors the failure of some modern classicists to understand that the manuscripts they inherited from Byzantium reflected a similar unbroken, living tradition of Attic Greek. The study of both drama and ritual in Byzantium has, to this day, suffered from an insistence that the Eastern Empire fit the west's idiosyncratic, historically contingent criteria. One can only hope that a new model of analysis, based on how the Byzantines understood themselves, may eventually emerge and take its place alongside the western tradition.

Sainted Mimes and Orthodox Theologies of Acting

Introduction: On the Imitation of Christ for Cheap Laughs

At a pivotal point in the history of Byzantium's Christianization, Emperor Justinian had to remind people that it was still illegal to masquerade as men and women of the cloth:

> Generally speaking, We forbid all members of the laity, and especially actors and actresses, as well as prostitutes, to make use of the habit of a monk, a nun, or an ascetic of either sex, or to imitate the costume of any such persons; for those who have the audacity either to wear such garments or imitate them or ridicule the practice of ecclesiastical discipline are warned that they will be liable to corporeal punishment, as well as to be sent into exile.[83]

For as long as there had been Christians and Christian rites, poking fun at them had been a favorite popular pastime. By the sixth century, however, Christian satires were performed for an audience that had, officially at least, assumed a new

---

[83]Justinian Code, Novel 123, Chapter 44, issued in 546 CE; translation from *The Civil Law*, trans. S. P. Scott (Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932), 17:103. Justinian had also preserved an edict from the Theodosian Code forbidding actresses and exotic dancers to dress as nuns (*Codex Justinianus* 1.4.4, translation in *The Civil Law*, 12:57), and prescribes corporal punishment for violators; perhaps because his wife, the empress Theodora, might once have engaged in such antics on-stage the punishment is not made retroactive.

spirituality. Justinian's eventual closure of the School of Athens and his de-funding of both rhetoric schools and theatre shows constituted the Empire's most radical attempt to break with pagan tradition.[84]

The results were mixed; pagans may have been officially banned from civic and academic work but they continued to hold important positions, and were even treated cordially by some Church officials.[85] Moreover, beneath the façade of a Christian Empire was a society that remained wary about its imperially-decreed spiritual revolution. This explains why it was possible in Justinian's time to find a public theatre packed with Christians, watching Christian mimes dressed as clergy and lampooning rites that they knew by heart. What had begun in pagan times as a form of minority stereotyping had now become self-referential satire.

It is in this context that a new sub-genre of hagiographic literature begins to emerge: tales of martyred mimes who convert while performing Christian satires. In spite of their dubious historicity, a number of past studies have used these mime-martyrologies to reconstruct the plots of actual mime's plays; more recently, they have been regarded as a means of understanding Early Byzantine cultural trends, and the Church's attempts to redirect them.[86]

---

[84] About Justinian's cultural revolution see Robert Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (New York: Preager, 1971), 62-63 or Treadgold, *History*, 180; a more detailed account of Justinian's attitudes towards paganism can be found in J. A. S. Evans, The *Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 65-71.

[85] Evans (*Age of Justinian*, 69-71), notes the survival of pagan intellectuals, and discusses a treaty Justinian signed with the Persian Emperor Khusro I in 532, in which Khusro ensured the right of exiled pagan philosophers to return to Byzantium and still practice their religion.

[86] In spite of Bertha von der Lage's conclusion that the legend of most famous mime-martyr, Genesius of Rome, was apocryphal (*Studien zur Genesiuslegend* (Studies in the legend of Genesius) (Berlin, 1898), Hermann Reich used the contents of apocryphal "Christological mimes" like Genesius's to construct the plot of an elaborate, Late Antique martyrdom drama (*Der Mimus: Ein literar-entwickelungsgeschichtlichen Versuch* (The Mime: an essay on the literature of its historical development) (Berlin: Weidmann, 1903), 80-109). A few years later, C. Van de Vorst ("Une Passion inédite de S. Porphyre le mime (an unedited Passion of St. Porphyrius the Mime)," *Analecta*

In most mime-martyrologies the conversions occur during mock baptisms; having been dunked the mime emerges from the water and, once dressed in the white robes of the new convert, proclaims he is now a real Christian and intends to quit the stage. At this point, the mime is either stoned to death by an irate audience or executed by a local governor. In the lives of Porphyrius of Antioch, Porphyrius of Caesaria and Gelasios (or Gelasinos) of Heliopolis, the baptism sketch is the only one mentioned,[87] but some martyrologies describe extended satires of martyrdom and/or asceticism. Ardalion was described as having perfected the role of comic Christian

---

Bollandiana 29 (1910): 258-275) pointed out that, among other things, the tale of Genesius of Rome – Reich's chief source – is not attested until the sixth century CE, and probably relied on eastern models. Allardyce Nicoll, while dubious of these tales' authenticity, follows Reich in treating the material as evidence for actual performance (see *Masks, Mimes and Miracles: Studies in the Popular Theatre* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc., 1963), 17-18 & 121-122). Werrner Weismann ("Gelasinos von Heliopolis, ein Schauspieler-Martyrer (Gelasinos of Heliopolis, an actor-martyr)" *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975): 39-66) rejects these tales' historicity and shows that even the earliest confirmed source – John Malalas' 6th century *Chronicles* – draws from little more than local folklore. Stanley Longosz, on the other hand ("L'Antico mimo anticristiano (the ancient anti-Christian mime)" *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993): 164-168), indulges in a reconstruction of a baptism satire complete with freakish make-up and grotesque phalluses, none of which is attested in any of the tales. Costas Panayotakis, although acknowledging the tales' fictional nature, uses them to create his own versions of what he regards as two distinct Christian satires ("Baptism and Crucifixion on the Mimic Stage," *Mnemosyne* 50 (1997): 302-319). Recently, Richard Lim's emphasis – more in accord with the present study – is on the context in which these tales were produced, and the possible goals they were meant to achieve ("Converting the Unchristianizable: The Baptism of Stage Performers in Late Antiquity," in *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing,* Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, eds. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 84-126.

[87] The martyrdom of Porphyrius of Antioch, set in the court of the pagan Byzantine emperor Julian I and observed on September 15, can be found (in Latin) in Johannes Bolland and others, eds., *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur* (Deeds of the Saints, as many as lived the world over, or are honored by Catholic scribes), 2nd ed. (Reprint: Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965), (hereafter *Acta Sanctorum*), September 5.37. The editor notes an alternative to the baptism scenario, in which Porphyrius is a court mime who chastises the pagan emperor Julian for his ingratitude to the Christian God. Several versions of Porphyrius of Caesaria's martyrdom are collected in *Acta Sanctorum,* November 2:1,227-232 (November 4). St. Gelasios/Gelasinus' martyrdom is found in *Acta Sanctorum*, February 5.680 (February 27), but is also mentioned briefly in John Malalas' *Chronicles* (see *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, trans. Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys, and Roger Scott (Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986), 171). Greek stage-names were common, and often revolved around simple puns: Porphyrius derives from (imperial) purple, and Gelasios from the word for laughter.

martyr; and Genesius of Rome stars in a satiric martyrdom play that includes baptism as its third scene.[88]

Because hagiographic tales tend to have a formulaic quality, some scholars have dismissed them *en masse* as "insipid and pretentious;"[89] a contextual analysis of the mime-martyrology, however, reveals that the goals of the original authors may have been practical and rooted in both contemporary reality and the Orthodox ritual aesthetic discussed above.

On Martyrology

Martyr's tales were copied into liturgical books and read aloud in church on a daily basis as part of morning services. Their role in the liturgy and their transmission through live readings go some way towards explaining these texts' simplicity and repetitiveness. To be understood by ear, they had to be of suitable length (preferably short) and have an easily identifiable narrative arc; to be appropriate for the liturgy, they had to offer one among a limited number of models for proper Christian behavior.

As literature, the hagiographical project of Late Antiquity also heralded the development of a distinctly Christian intellectual culture. Peter Brown, in a series of lectures on the cult of the saints, situates martyr's tales in a milieu where Christianity was learning to speak with its own voice, and where it re-framed Roman society in

---

[88] Versions of Ardalion's martyrdom can be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, April 5.213 (April 14); Genesius' martyrdom, with detailed commentary/critique, can be found in *Acta Sanctorum*, August 5.119-123, where the editor discusses evidence for a church dedicated to his memory and festivals still celebrated in the modern era.

[89] Hippolyte Delahaye, as quoted by Peter Brown in *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 80-81.

biblical terms. The standard plots reflected the need for an emerging Church to create a new way of reading and influencing contemporary events:

> Christian writers did not mindlessly create a mirror in Heaven . . . The role of replication in late antiquity was subtly different: it enabled the Christian communities, by projecting a structure of clearly defined relationships onto the unseen world, to ask questions about the quality of relationships in their own society . . . It was a form of piety exquisitely adapted to enable late-antique men to articulate and render manageable urgent, muffled debates on the nature of power in their own world, and to examine in the searching light of ideal relationships with ideal figures, the relation between power, mercy, and justice as practiced around them.[90]

When understood on Brown's terms, mime-martyrologies can be seen as part of the Church's effort to change Christian behavior at a time when the theatre remained a serious distraction.

Although usually set in the bygone days of pagan persecution, hagiographic tales tended to reveal more about the challenges faced by the contemporary Church.[91] The chief focus in mime-martyr's tales was on the sincere (albeit accidental) mime-convert who immediately tried to leave the stage, an unsubtle hint that Christian mimes who hadn't quit the stage already ought to consider a new line of work. Hagiographers also relied on common knowledge of the mimes' humble status, and their use of conversion to rebel against the slavery of the stage. The Church is usually portrayed as the enemy of the theatre, but in its early years was a haven for

---

[90] Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, 63.
[91] As Sebastian Brock and Susan Harvey have noted, acknowledging such tales' dubious reliability "does not detract from the worth of these texts as social documents for their period of composition" (Sebastian Brock and Susan Ashbrook Harvey, eds., *Holy Woman of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 3). Derek Krueger (*Symeon the Holy Fool,* 7), also points out that "when such works are considered as the literary output of given individuals, produced in a specific time and place, they reveal something of their authors' hopes and concerns."

actors who wanted a better life.[92] The mime-martyr's tales may be the product of a later time, then, when mimes found they could enjoy the privileges of citizenship and still receive a government paycheck for performing on-stage.

On Baptism

As both a theatrical routine and a narrative device, baptism satires appealed to audiences in part because for years they were performed almost exclusively on adults. The conduct of the rite would have appealed readily to a theatre-goer's bawdy sense of humor, because the initiate would have to disrobe and then get oiled down from head to foot before being dunked in a vat of water (the Greek *baptizein* meaning literally "to immerse").

The potential for titillation is acknowledged by the Church Fathers: in a sermon designed to prepare his catechumens for the ceremony ahead, John Chrysostom conjures up an image that is surprising and – given the Church's usual reticence on the subject of the human body – potentially scandalous:

> Let me talk to you as I would to a bride about to be led into the holy nuptial chamber . . . And if you wish, let us first strip from her her garb and see the condition in which she is. Despite her plight, the Bridegroom still allows her to come in. This clearly shows us the boundless kindness of our common Master . . .[93]

The bride/initiate's humble nakedness – note that her ugliness is assumed – is contrasted with the bridegroom/Christ's infinite love and forgiveness. Revealing one's body, even with loin-cloths intact and in the relative privacy of an indoor

---

[92] See for example *Codex Theodosianus* 15.7.1, translated in Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 433. Actors were clearly anxious to become Christians so as to achieve social and legal equality, something that had traditionally been denied them under both pagan and Christian emperors.

[93] *St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*, trans. Paul W. Harkins (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1963), 23-24.

baptistery surrounded by celebrants of the same sex, was still potentially humiliating. And instead of easing his catechumens' concerns Chrysostom only heightens them.

Perhaps because the image is so earthy, Chrysostom feels obliged to explain that this 'bride stripped bare' motif should be taken as a metaphor, *just* a metaphor:

> Let no one who hears these words of mine fall into crass and carnal interpretation of them. I am talking of the soul and its salvation . . .[94]

Chrysostom regards disrobing as essential to a person's spiritual purification, his risqué taste in imagery notwithstanding. In his next preparatory sermon he goes on to describe the anointing with oil, in somewhat more tasteful terms:

> Next, [the priest] causes your whole body to be anointed with that olive oil of the spirit, so that all your limbs may be fortified and unconquered by the darts which the adversary aims at you.[95]

From the bedroom, Chrysostom has shifted to the field of battle; it was a commonplace to describe the Christian lifestyle in macho terms, whether martial or athletic. Christian apologists made a point of defending their peaceful lifestyle through sporting metaphors, as if to pre-empt perceptions of effeminacy.

Having evoked the bedroom and the battlefield, the catechumen's imagination is then drawn to the graveyard. Conducted as it was immediately prior to Easter Sunday services, Chrysostom compares the climax of the baptismal rite – the immersion and exit from the water – to a cycle of death, burial and resurrection.[96]

Officially the rite is structured so that the Holy Spirit descends upon the catechumens during immersion, so that they emerge cleansed of sin. At this crucial moment, however, the Orthodox ritual aesthetic prescribes a precise grammatical

---

[94] Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions*, 24.
[95] Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions*, 52.
[96] So strong is the imagery of baptism-as-death that in the Jerusalem of Chrysostomos' day, the three-part immersion of the initiate was symbolic of Jesus' three days in the tomb. See Juliette Day, *Baptism in Early Byzantine Palestine, 325-451* (Cambridge, UK: Grove Books, 1999), 14.

turn: the clergy express the ritual action in the middle-passive voice. As Chrysostom explains:

> [I]t is not only the priest who touches the head, but also the right hand of Christ, and this is shown by the very words of the one baptizing. He does not say: "I baptize so-and-so," but: "So-and-so is baptized [*baptizetai*]," showing that he is only the minister of grace and merely offers his hand because he has been ordained to this end by the Spirit.[97]

As in the Divine Liturgy the most spiritually potent moment of the baptismal rite heightens the passivity of its participants. This posture of passivity was a prerequisite in creating a specific space and time for the infinite and immortal to manifest itself.

On Baptism by Kids, Heretics, Drunkards and Mimes

Ritual burlesque, although officially frowned upon, had its rhetorical uses; and baptism satires became a popular motif in Christian literature, thanks largely to the Orthodox theory of clerical non-agency. Diminishing the clergy's role had the benefit of re-casting baptism satires as spiritually potent performances, regardless of the participant's intent.

Three early historians of the Church, Rufinus of Aquilaeia, Sozomen (of Constantinople) and Socrates Scholasticus, circulated a tale of how (St.) Athanasius, Patriarch of Alexandria (*ca*. 300-373) was first discovered in the manner of a future sports hero by a major-league manager:

> Once when Bishop Alexander was celebrating the day of Peter Martyr in Alexandria, he was waiting in a place near the sea after the ceremonies were over for his clergy to gather for a banquet. There he saw from a distance some boys on the seashore playing a game in which, as they often do, they were mimicking a bishop and the things customarily done in church. Now when he had gazed intently for a while at the boys, he saw that they were also performing some of the more secret and sacramental things. He was disturbed

[97] Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions*, 53.

> and immediately ordered the clergy to be called to him and showed them what he was watching from a distance.[98]

The Bishop hauls the boys before him for some hard questioning, and upon learning that some of them – catechumens, Rufinus insists – had been baptized correctly, word-for-word by the group's ring-leader, the Bishop declared the baptized boys officially Christians, and enrolled the mock-Bishop Athanasius and his mock-clergy pals in a seminary. Portentous child's play had been a common literary device since antiquity; but here, it reflects the Orthodox conceit that baptism is baptism, regardless of who does it.[99]

Sometime later St. Augustine, addressing his congregation in Hippo, wondered out loud whether baptisms by heretics and schismatics could be spiritually effective. His conclusion, again, is rooted in the aesthetic of the rite:

> With regard to the mere sacrament itself, it makes no difference whether someone receives the baptism of Christ where the unity of Christ is not . . . God has taught us that the sign of salvation is one thing, but that salvation itself is another; and that the form of piety is one thing, but that the virtue of piety is another.[100]

The clergy's passive role in baptism is linked here with Jesus' emphasis on inner spirituality. As Bishop, Augustine presided over official baptisms; but rather than emphasize the importance of his work, his theological rigor is such that he regards his role as minimal.

---

[98] *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia*, trans. Philip R. Amidon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 26-27. According to Sozomen, Bishop Alexander was initially amused and pleased by the sight – see Sozomen, "Church History," in Schaff, *Select Library*, 2nd ser., 2.269.

[99] See also *The Church History of Rufinus*, p. 27 & n. 26, for the tale's classical exemplars. Socrates Scholasticus gets his story directly from Rufinus (see Socrates, "Church History," in Schaff, *Select Library*, 2.20). Given the preference in those days for death-bed baptisms, Bishop Alexander's punishments might have seemed harsh to the Early Byzantine lay reader.

[100] *Saint Augustine: Commentary on the Lord's Sermon on the Mount with Seventeen Related Sermons*, trans. Denis J. Kavanagh (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1951), 334-335.

Augustine spoke at a time when a radical sect, the Donatists, had long required a second baptism of Christians to join their congregation – to cleanse them of Christian 'heresies.' The roots of Donatism went back to early fourth-century disputes between Christians who had suffered persecution and those – clergy especially – who had either run away or compromised with pagan authorities. They rallied around the teachings of the third-century Bishop (St.) Cyprian of Carthage, one of Augustine's predecessors, who had concluded that sacraments administered by turncoat clergy were invalid.[101] In response to the Donatists who continued to enforce this dogma long after the days of persecution, Augustine responded that it didn't matter who performed the rite; what mattered was the state of the initiate's soul.[102]

The Donatists' claims to authority are further undermined when Augustine turns to satires of baptism performed during annual street festivals. In Augustine's *Treatise on the Gospel of John*, he contrasts John the Baptist's baptism of Jesus with the drunken versions that had become a popular pastime:

> . . . [as for those] baptized by a drunkard, -- I speak of what happens every year, of what happens every day; I speak of what all are called to, even in this city, when it is said to them, let us play the part of the irrational, let us have pleasure, and on such a day as this of the calends of January we ought not to

[101] See A. P. Kazhdan, ed., *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), s. v. "Donatism," I:650; an introduction to Cyprian's arguments can be found in *Saint Cyprian: Treatises*, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1958), v-viii. See also Adrian Fortescue, *Donatism* (London: Burns & Oates, 1917), 4 & ff; and W. H. C. Frend, *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), esp. 118-139, on the legacy of Cyprian's ideas in Augustine's time.

[102] This becomes clearer in his treatise *On Baptism and Against the Donatists*, where Augustine clarifies his position: baptisms may be given by heretics or schismatics, but should not be sought after. See Augustine, "On Baptism, Against the Donatists," trans. J. R. King, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, vol. 4, *Augustin: The Writings Against the Manichaens, and Against the Donatists*, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Christian Literature Publishing Company 1887; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994), 411-424.

> fast: these are the things I speak of, these trifling everyday proceedings; – when one is baptized by a drunkard, who is better? John or the drunkard?[103]

Winter revelers in Hippo had taken to mocking Augustine's spiritual authority and aping his ritual repertoire. Although irritated, Augustine finds a way to use this mockery to his own advantage. In Book 7 of his treatise *On Baptism and Against the Donatists* Augustine contrasts their heresy with an even worse-case scenario of mock baptisms performed by mimes; he poses a provocative series of questions contrasting the theatre with the heretical church:

> The question is also commonly raised, whether baptism is to be held valid which is received from one who had not himself received it, if, from some promptings of curiosity, he had chanced to learn how it ought to be conferred; and whether it makes no difference in what spirit the recipient receives it, whether in mockery or sincerity: if in mockery, whether the difference arises when the mockery is of deceit, as in the Church, or in what is thought to be the Church; or when it is in jest, as in a play: and which is the more accursed . . . to receive it deceitfully in heresy or in good faith in a play, if any one were to be moved by a sudden feeling of religion in the midst of his acting . . .[104]

Augustine seems surprised that anyone could doubt what his answer would be: a person of heretical beliefs, baptized by a heretical bishop, would be in sore need of repentance, whereas a good-natured mime would be welcomed into the fold – even if his "bishop" were just a pagan player for hire:

> I have said before [that] I should have no hesitation in saying that all men possess baptism who have received it in any place, from any sort of men, provided that it were consecrated in the words of the gospel, and received without deceit on their part with some degree of faith . . .[105]

---

[103] Augustine, "Treatise on the Gospel of John," trans. John Gibb and James Innes, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, vol. 7, *Augustin: Homilies on the Gospel of John, Homilies on the First Epistle of John, Soliloquies*, ed. Philip Schaff (New York: Christian Publishing Company 1887, Reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1995), 37-38.
[104] Augustine, "On Baptism," 4.512-513.
[105] Augustine, "On Baptism," 4.513.

Given the passive role of the clergy in the baptismal rite and the emphasis on the initiate's spirituality, Augustine concludes that accurately performed baptism satires effect conversion if the recipient is already so inclined.

The elevation of *archimimoi* to bishoprics, on one level bizarre, may have had some political significance for Augustine's see; his tenure as Bishop of Hippo coincided with a period when new laws placed severe limits on mime conversions. In the Carthage of Augustine's misspent youth,[106] the high number of mime-converts who tried to convert and leave the stage prompted local authorities to seek imperial protection.[107] Mimes already had a reputation for feigning terminal illnesses (and possibly staging maudlin family death-bed scenes) to get baptized and quit the stage,[108] so it is possible that some may have used staged baptism sketches as a ruse to convert as well.

Summary

Although conditions for mimes in Northern Africa were evidently brutal, elsewhere performance conditions were more favorable and mimes continued to perform after their conversion. And although the Church repeatedly threatened mimes and their audiences with excommunication,[109] there is no evidence of any

---

[106] See Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. Henry Chadwick (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 35-37.

[107] For an early fifth-century petition to release a mime-convert from his stage duties see also Claude Lepelley, "Trois documents méconnus sur l'histoire sociale et religieuse de l'Afrique romaine tardive parmi les *spuria* de Sulpice Sévère (Three little-known documents on the social and religious history of Late Roman Africa from the *Spuria* of Sulpicius Severus)," *Antiquités Africaines* 25 (1989), 258-261 (Latin with French translation).

[108] See for example *Codex Theodosianus* 15.7.1, (Pharr, *The Theodosian Code*, 433). Issued in 371 CE, it demands that "only those persons who are *actually* in extreme danger shall make the demand for the sacraments for their souls' salvation" (emphasis mine).

[109] Several scholars have pointed to canons from the First and Second Councils of Arles (314 and 451 CE) as evidence that the Church was willing to sacrifice mime-converts temporarily to the stage; a careful reading of the Latin, however, does not justify this interpretation. See for example Nicoll,

effort to follow through on these threats. John Chrysostom, for all his anti-theatrical bluster, never barred the door of Hagia Sophia to his theatre-loving congregation.[110] It appears the Church preferred to let the mimes and their fans into services so that the clergy could chastise them (again and again) for their sinfulness.[111] Tales of martyred mimes, when read in this context, would have put particular pressure on mime-converts to quit the stage. What made these stories plausible, however, was the audience's understanding of the Orthodox ritual aesthetic, which stressed the baptized person's frame of mind and not the authority of those who administered the rite.

The citation of this aesthetic in a story read aloud at services would indicate that by at least the sixth century (when these stories first make their appearance),[112] there was a general consensus about how ritual performances were to be interpreted. And at the heart of this consensus was a very clear distinction between acting and ritual performance: what set priests apart from actors was that they did not enact anything, and they took no credit for accomplishing anything beyond a carefully prescribed series of prayers and gestures. Any spiritual effects – the changing of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, the cleansing of an initiate's soul, etc. – were the work of the Holy Spirit, which was expected to respond to specific vocal and gestural cues regardless of who performed them.

Masks Mimes and Miracles, 140, and French, "Christian Emperors," 209 & n. 115 (French dates the Second council to 422). For a more accurate interpretation see T. D. Barnes, "Christians and the Theater," 177.

[110] One suspects that had Chrysostom acted on his threats, Hagia Sophia would have been nearly empty. But there is still a tendency to mis-interpret canon law as enforceable: see for example Walter Puchner's treatment of the Council in Trullo's anti-theatrical canons ("Acting in the Byzantine theatre," 316).

[111] See for example Jacob of Serugh, "Homily 3 on the Spectacles," from C. Moss, "Jacob of Serugh's Homilies on the Spectacles and the Theater," *Le Muséon* 48 (1935), 106.

[112] The earliest written evidence for these stories is in John Malalas, *Chron*. 12.50 (on St. Gelasinos); see *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, 171.

For the Orthodox Christian it was a ritual's formal elements, not the material ones (priests, books, candles, etc.) through which a ritual was performed that created the expectation of spiritual fulfillment. This de-emphasis on materiality was yet another reason why the acting profession never gained official acceptance in the Eastern Church. Mimes, who had adopted hypocrisy as a profession, celebrated their own materiality on-stage and in so doing distracted themselves and their audiences from spiritual matters. Priests, when they adhered strictly to their ritual aesthetic and rejected behaviors that – to their mind – prevented Christians from living pious, charitable lives, set a standard for their flock to follow. Because the Latin west would eventually adopt a variety of materialist representational practices, Orthodoxy's consistent adherence to its traditional ritual aesthetic would come to heighten already growing tensions between the two churches.

Chapter 3: Musical Practices in Byzantium

Introduction

Although the theatre as a publicly-funded institution disappeared during the sixth century, Ancient Greek music survived and laid the foundation for Orthodox ritual performance. Early Christian hymns used Ancient Greek notation,[1] and the ancient tonal system based on the *tetrachord*, modal *genera*, and the classification of modes by melodic type, central tone and ethical character were adapted by the sixth century CE (if not earlier) for use in Orthodox chant.[2]

Generations of western musicologists have assumed that Byzantine chant was originally diatonic (i.e., western) in style, so that deviations from the simple Gregorian norm – as found especially in Late Byzantine and post-Byzantine chant – were the result of "oriental" or Turkish influence.[3] But although there is some evidence for cultural exchange and cross-fertilization during the Late Byzantine period,[4] the evidence that Byzantine composers relied on a highly sophisticated

---

[1] The first Christian hymn with musical notation used the ancient system developed during the Hellenistic period; see M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 324-326.
[2] See Appendix 5, "The Composer in Antiquity," for a brief summary of the concepts behind Ancient Greek musical theory and performance.
[3] Constantine Sathas was among the first to complain about the "orientalization" and "turkization" of Byzantine chant; see . *Ἱστορικόν Δοκίμιον περί τοῦ Θεάτρου και τῆς Μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν, ἤτοι ἐισαγωγή ἐις τό Κρητικόν Θεάτρον* (Historical Essay on the Theatre and Music of the Byzantines, or An Introduction to the Cretan Theatre) (Venice, 1878; reprint, Athens: Διονυσίου Νότη Καραβία, 1994), ρμη'-ρμθ' (pp. 148-149).
[4] For the most recent treatment on this subject see Christian Troelsgård, "Tradition and Transformation in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant," in *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture: Papers read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1-5 December, 1999*, ed. Jan Olof Rosenquist, 158-166. Troelsgård points out that early Turkish music had no system of notation; reportedly, musicians in the court of Sultan Mehmet II the Conqueror (1451-1481 CE) were amazed at the ability of Orthodox chanters to write down and reproduce their melodies. If systems of notation are a marker of a musical culture's stage of development, it is the Byzantines who would have had greater influence over the Ottomans, not *vice versa*.

system of Ancient Greek music theory is indisputable.[5] Recent studies reveal a more complex picture, one in which Ancient Greek music theory remained a part of the Byzantine music scene but was used selectively, to suit the tastes of the times.[6]

Because many listeners are unacquainted with the structures of Byzantine chant, this chapter will begin with a general introduction to the principles of Ancient Greek music practice, and the theory that developed out of it. A number of recent studies have succeeded in making Ancient Greek music more accessible to the general reader.[7] Although the passage of time saw many changes in musical tastes and practice from Antiquity onward, the principles of melodic composition remained largely the same from the time of the Dionysia to the Fall of Constantinople. It is in Byzantine chant, composed by women and men trained in ancient theory,[8] that theatre historians can find the most direct examples of how Greek dramatic composers might have operated. Having established the principles of Ancient Greek music theory, the chapter will then detail the evidence for ancient theory's legacy in Byzantium, and

---

[5] In the past, evidence for this was deliberately misinterpreted; see for example Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 63. Wellesz cites Nicholas Mesarites' late twelfth-century account of a music lesson at a prestigious boy's school in Constantinople as evidence that nobody knew ancient music theory. What Wellesz failed to address was that Mesarites was hostile to classical scholarship, and that he demonstrates (in spite of himself) that ancient music theory was an important part of the church and court elite's education.

[6] West, in his analysis of the early Christian hymn, discounts Wellesz's theory that its ormanental qualities were oriental; compare West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 325 with Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 152-156.

[7] The following account of Ancient musical practice and theory will draw from several sources, but mostly from Thomas J. Mathiesen's *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), Giovanni Comotti's *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, trans. Rosaria V. Munson (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), and Martin L. West's *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992). In addition, Andrew Barker's anthology, *Greek Musical Writings*, 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984) will provide translations of primary sources.

[8] Although Hildegard von Bingen is usually regarded as the first extant female composer, that honor actually goes to St. Kassia (Kassiane), a woman known as much for her assertiveness as for her musical gifts. For a brief account of her life and career see Diane Touliatos, "Kassia," Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/28/2006), http://www.grovemusic.com; see also Vasiliev, *History*, 1.295-296; on her music see for example Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 237 & 353-354. Dr. Touliatos has transcribed Kassia's complete extant works into western notation.

discuss the impact of the Orthodox ritual aesthetic on the interpretation of musical performance.

Agon and Innovation

Two formative influences on the development of Ancient Greek music were the relative isolation of their communities and the institution of the *agon*. Musical competitions drew artists from throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and Greek composers (a more literal rendering of the word *poietes*, "poet") developed their work in a milieu where each community boasted its own 'sound' with distinct variations in terms of modes, rhythms, and melodic patterns.[9] Musicians vie for prizes today with uniform instruments tuned to international standards for pitch and intervals; Ancient Greek musicians, on the other hand, built and tuned their instruments according to regional and/or personal tastes.[10] It is this diversity of musical production that may have been a driving force behind the creation of a professional class of musicians and

[9] West (*Ancient Greek Music*, 19-20) finds evidence of contests as early as the eighth century BCE, while Mathiesen (*Apollo's Lyre*, 11) quotes Hesiod, the legendary contemporary of Homer, bragging of winning a competition in Chalcis during the same period.

[10] For an example of theatre-related innovation see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 183-184 for Mathiesen's description of Pronomos of Thebe's aulos. As Peter Wilson has recently pointed out, the famous "Pronomos vase" is evidence of the musician's central role in dramatic choral performances; it is possible to read the vase as a celebration of Pronomos' ingeniuity in creating a new instrument, adaptable to any genre of dramatic chant (see Peter Wilson, "The Musicians Among the Actors," in *Greek and Roman Actors*, 39-68). Both West and Mathiesen also comment on the various types of auloi and lyres, instruments associated with dramatic performances, that had developed by the Classical period: for the aulos, see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre* 182-197, and West, *Ancient Greek Music* 89-103 (the latter passage commenting more specifically on the aulos's physical characteristics); on varieties of lyre, with anywhere from three to seven or more strings, see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 243-247, or West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 62-64. Giovanni Comotti points to the dithyrambic competition, which immediately preceded the tragedies at the Dionysia, as the source of the innovations in tragic compositions. As he puts it, ". . . the impulse to revitalize the dithyrambic genre had probably been impelled by the competitive spirit which prevailed among the poets participating in the Great Dionysia. The ten authors [of each year's dithyrambs]. . . were more and more stimulated to look for new styles of song and to break away from traditional forms" (Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, 34).

performers during the Hellenistic period, as well as the adoption of more scientific, theoretical approaches to music.

Modes, Tunings, and Notation.

Ancient composers tended to follow certain common precepts. The basic building block of any melody was the tetrachord ("four-string" or fourth), an interval that encompassed two-and-a-half tones.[11] Musicians developed a nomenclature for the notes that reflected their *dynamic* function in a melody (the equivalent of dominant, sub-dominant, etc.); but the names also tended to reflect their *thetic* function, i.e., their position on a stringed instrument. Tuning began with the *mese*, or "middle" string, the central note of any melody and, as a result, a note whose pitch remained fixed; to create fourths above and below this "middle" string, the outside boundaries were fixed by tuning a *nete*, or "bottom" string and then a *hypate*, or "topmost" string. Fixed notes like these helped create both the tonal boundaries and, to some degree, the grammatical structure for Greek composers.

Then as now, the "topmost" string was the lowest in pitch, with the "bottom" string being the highest (a modern guitar or lute, for example, works on this principle). When strumming a four-stringed lyre from hypate to mese, then, the result is a series of ascending tones. Martin West's survey of extant musical specimens indicates that melodies, wherever and however they wandered, tended to rely on a

[11] See *Ancient Greek Music*, 160 & ff., for a discussion of modes. Please note that the terms "tone," "half-tone," "quarter-tone," etc., are not equivalent to the western concept of "steps;" reliance on modern systems of temperament tend to distort ancient practice, and ancient pitch values remain difficult to establish. Likewise, the term "scale" does not adequately describe how tones were grouped and used in Ancient Greek composition. The author would like to thank Dr. Diane Touliatos for her assistance in preparing these observations.

common figure – a move to either the *mese* or the note one fourth below – to create a sense of cadence or closure.[12]

The tonal boundaries of the tetrachord were the *mese* and *hypate*; between these two fixed notes was placed (initially) a third, floating note called *lichanos*, or "index finger;" its name would appear to illustrate how the string would have been played on a lyre, when the musician worked without a pick or plectrum. In later years another floating note was introduced, the *parhypate* or "next-topmost," so called because of its position next to *hypate* (fig. 5).[13]

Given the free-floating nature of *lichanos* and its later fellow-traveler *parhypate*, any number of tunings were possible; so ancient theorists identified three basic types or *genera* of modes: the *enharmonic* ("harmonious" or "in tune"), the *chromatic* ("colored" or "colorful"), and the *diatonic* ("through-toned" or "parted-tone") (fig. 6.).[14] The position of the *lichanos* was the chief means of identifying the mode *genus* for any given melody. The insertion of a *parhypate* into the tetrachord meant the creation of two smaller intervals between *lichanos* and *hypate*.

The diatonic *genus* ascended, pitchwise, first by a semi-tone, then a whole tone, then a whole-tone; the chromatic ascended first by a semi-tone, then a semi-tone, then 1½ tones. These two modes with their larger intervals might sound familiar to western ears; but the enharmonic mode started by ascending in microtones, i.e., two intervals less than a half-tone (depicted in fig. 6 as ¼ tones),

[12] See West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 192-194, for West's discussion of ascending and descending motion in extant melodies.
[13] See West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 163-4 and 173, for theories on the evolution of the modes. West discusses the practical roots of this terminology for the whole system in *Ancient Greek Music*, 218-223, and we shall return to the terminology below.
[14] See *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.vv. *ἐναρμόνιος, χρωματικός, διάτονος*, but also *διά*, (section D), for its discussion of the preposition's uses in compound words. When applied to music, it is entirely possible that more than one sense of these words applied.

THE TETRACHORD:

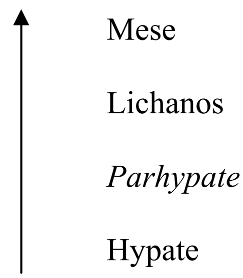


Fig. 5. Names for Notes/Strings in the "lower" Greek tetrachord. The later, added note (*Parhypate*) in italics. The nomenclature, following the arrow, translates as: Topmost, Next-topmost, Index Finger, Middle. The names describe the positions of the strings, so that *Hypate* designates the "topmost" string but which pitch-wise is two and a half tones lower than *Mese*.

THREE MODAL GENERA:

NOTE:	DIATONIC:	CHROMATIC:	ENHARMONIC:
Mese	↑	↑	↑
	(1)	(1½)	(2)
Lichanos			
	(1)	(½)	(¼)
Parhypate			↑
	(½)	(1½)	(¼)
Hypate			

Fig. 6. The Three Modal Genera, with their tonal intervals.
Note that the position of *Lichanos* in each genus is the chief identifying feature.

and then ascended by two whole tones. Because of their tonal proximity, the cluster of three notes at the bottom of the enharmonic tetrachord were referred to as *pyknon*, or "tightly packed."[15] Music theorists defined these intervals using Pythagorus' monochord system, which relied on mathematical ratios; but in practice, tunings were subjective and Pythagorus' mathematics went only so far in accounting for modal *genera* and their variations.[16]

These modal *genera* had specific associations in the Greek ear; ironically, educated Athenians would have regarded our "sophisticated" well-tempered, diatonic modes with condescension. As the fourth-century theorist Aristoxenus (a pupil of Aristotle), explains:

> Of these [modes] the diatonic, since human nature comes upon it first, must be reckoned the first and oldest, the chromatic second, and the enharmonic third and most sophisticated, since perception becomes accustomed to it at last, with difficulty, and through much hard work.[17]

Microtonal modes were the province of an educated elite and, later, professional musicians. This hierarchy of simple-to-complex modal *genera*, in turn, creates a benchmark by which to assess later musical trends in Roman and Byzantine times.

In Antiquity the range of a melody, like that of the average male voice, was in the neighborhood of an octave.[18] But the Greeks did not tune with an octave in

---

[15] See West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 162. West also discusses modes and tuning using A. J. Ellis' system of *cents* (which divides an octave into 1,200 incremental units) – see *Ancient Greek Music*, 8-12 – and compares tuning methods among ancient threorists using Pythagorus' mathematical ratios (*Ancient Greek Music*, 237-242).

[16] To get an idea how complicated the business of tuning is see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 468-472. Mathiesen has created comparative tables delineating the three *genera* and their variations according to various ancient theorists, as found in later editions of Claudius Ptolmey's *Harmonica* (ca. 2nd century CE). A simpler formulation of some of these elements can be found in *Ancient Greek Music*, 169-170. Neither West nor Mathiesen address the possibility that differences in ratios may reflect changes in contemporary musical tastes.

[17] Aristoxenus, *Elementa Harmonica*, 19:22-29; English translation from Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, 2.139.

[18] See West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 274-276 for comparisons of vocal range from extant sheet music.

mind;[19] they could create, for example, two "conjunct" tetrachords, sharing a common central note with a total range comparable to a seventh. Creating an octave involved adding an eighth string named *paramese*, "alongside-center," one whole tone above the *mese*; octaves, then, were an accidental phenomenon that resulted from creating two "disjunct," separate tetrachords (Fig. 7). The name of the eighth string, *paramese*, reinforces the notion that for Greek musicians the central tone, not the top or bottom of an octave, remained the central element.[20]

Because melody took precedence over tunings in Antiquity, musicians did not tune to a specific "key" but rather to whatever set of pitches the composer required for a given song; these groups of notes were commonly known as *harmoniai*, "tunings." Some *harmoniai* came to have specific regional associations, in part by virtue of their tuning but chiefly because of the melodic formulae associated with them – hence the classification of *harmoniai* as Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian. Later, when music theorists attempted to clarify the *harmoniai*'s inter-relationships and integrate them into a unified tuning system, they came to be known as *tonoi*, "sounds" or "tones." In practice, what distinguished *harmoniai* from *tonoi* was that *harmoniai*

---

[19] As mentioned above, the names of these strings refer not to their pitch but to the string's position on the instrument. Thus, the 'bottom' string was the highest pitch, while the 'top' was the lowest (see *Ancient Greek Music*, 64). The arrangement and nomenclature are comparable to that of a modern-day guitar, whose "first" string, while highest in pitch, is "bottom" by position because it is farthest away from the player.

[20] Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 243-245, provides a tuning scenario from Nichomachus of Gerasa, who sees the octave resulting from a transition between a heptachord (a 7-stringed lyre, spanning a seventh) and an octochord (8 strings, spanning an octave). See also West, *Ancient Greek Music*., 220 (Table 8.1), for different ways of creating an octave. Mid-twentieth century musicologists struggled with the concept of the tetrachord vs. the octave; see for example Otto Gombosi, "Key, Mode, Species," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 4 (1951): 20-26, where he shows how ill-suited Western terminology is to Ancient Greek music. Bear in mind that although seven or eight strings appear to be the classical norm, actual numbers varied widely from three to twenty or more; see Martha Maas and Jane McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven,CT: Yale University Press, 1989), 203.

CONJUNCT & DISJUNCT TETRACHORDS:

<u>DISJUNCT (Octave)</u>:	<u>CONJUNCT (Seventh)</u>:
Nete	
Paranete	*Nete*
Trite	*Paranete*
Paramese	*Trite*
Mese	Mese
Lichanos	Lichanos
Parhypate	Parhypate
Hypate	Hypate

Fig. 13. Disjunct and Conjunct Tetrachords. The nomenclature now translates, from bottom pitch to top, as: Topmost, Next-topmost, Index Finger, Middle, (Next-Middle), Third, Next-bottom, Bottom. Pitchwise, the *Paramese* is inserted in the "lower" tetrachord, whose notes are displayed here in italics.

referred to tunings for specific melodies, whereas *tonoi* designated the more generic tuning patterns (much like our "C Major," "D Minor," etc.).[21]

Eventually with the increasing complexity of compositions, and the continued drive for innovation, the number of notes for a given melody became so numerous and their interrelationships so complex that it became necessary for musicians to expand on their original, one-octave nomenclature; this expansion came to be codified in two *teleia systemata*, "perfect systems" or collections of notes at specific

[21] See Barker, *Greek Musical Writings* 1.163-164, for Barker's description of the *harmoniai* and Aristoxenus' now-lost attempt to create a system of *tonoi* derived from them. See also *Greek Musical Writings*, 2.17-27, for a more detailed discussion, incorporating post-Aristoxenian treatments of the *tonoi*.

intervals.[22] These two *systemata* came to be known as the "Lesser Perfect System" (LPS) and the "Greater Perfect System" (GPS), with the LPS adding one conjunct tetrachord and the GPS adding two disjunct tetrachords above the *mese*. The names for all the new notes/strings in both the LPS and GPS reflected the fundamental principles that a) the tetrachord remained the basic building block of a melody, and b) modes could be constructed using either conjunct or disjunct tetrachords. In practice a melody could use either system, or both in succession.

Unfortunately, the charts used to show these systems in contemporary studies, with the names merely transliterated (Fig. 8) look less like musical schemes than branch-lines on the Athens Metro. A translation of these terms into English, however (Fig. 9), renders them more comprehensible, and their roots in performance practice become clearer. The nomenclature alternates between describing the note's dynamic and *thetic* functions (i.e., its role in the melody and its position on the instrument); it is these two systems that remained the basis for discussions of musical practice and theory from Antiquity into Byzantine times.

These two systems created what musicologist Thomas Mathiesen describes as a "scalar superstructure,"[23] with a common terminology that enabled musicians, composers and singers to work together and understand how and where the melody was moving. They made it easier for the musician to understand the relationships among the various modal *genera* and *harmoniai* that singers modulated into and out of. It helped to remember, for instance, when a particular note that functioned as a

[22] The term *systema* can refer to "any articulated mode or mode-section," from a third or a fourth on upwards (West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 223). To avoid confusion, however, this study will use the term only in relation to the larger, all-encompassing group of intervals described here.
[23] Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 383.

THE GREATER & LESSER PERFECT SYSTEMS

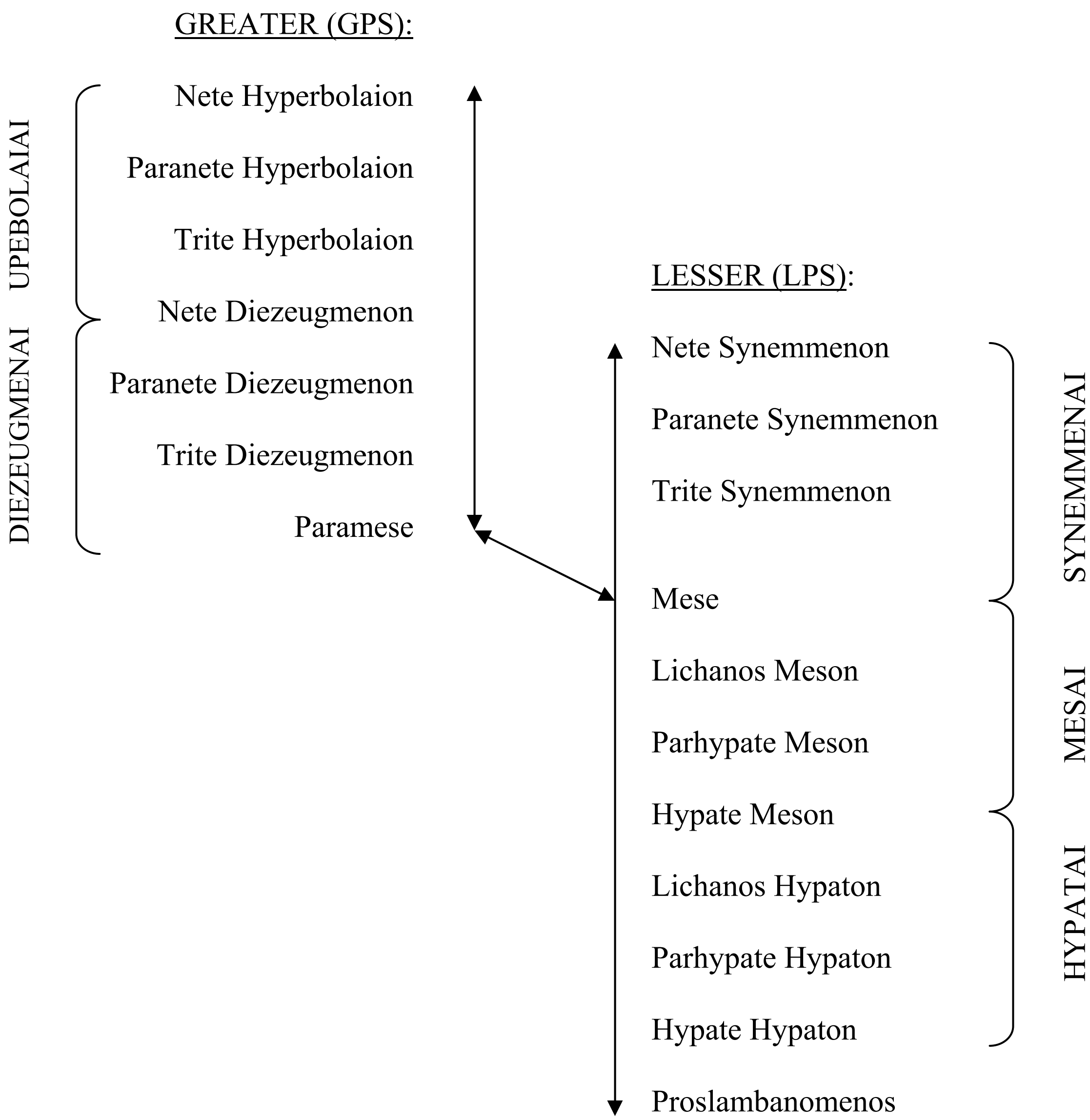


Fig. 8. The Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems, with nomenclature for notes written horizontally and for the individual tetrachords written vertically. Both systems use the same 'lower' tetrachords, and only differ in their 'upper' registers.

THE GREATER & LESSER PERFECT SYSTEMS, IN ENGLISH

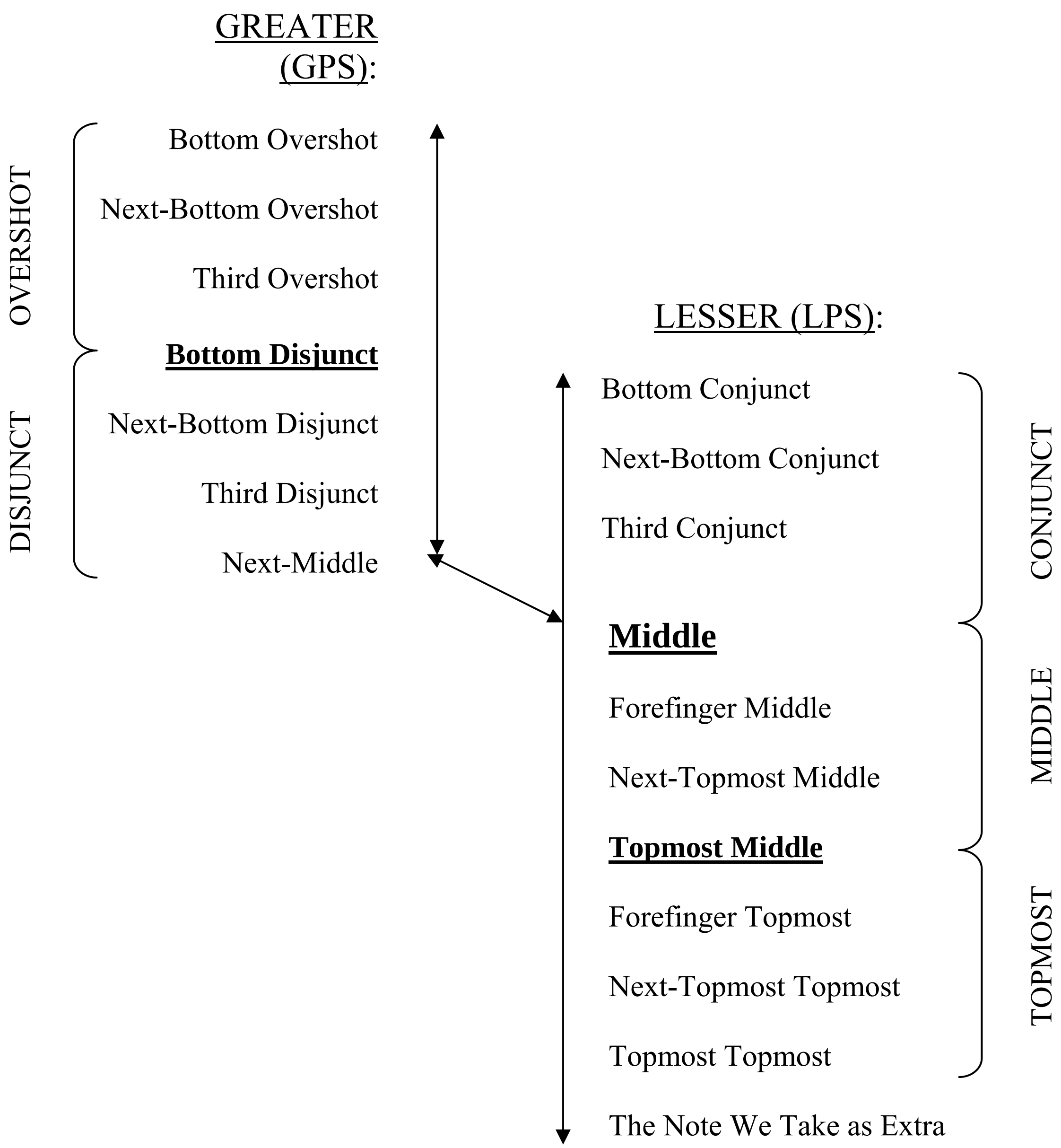


Fig. 9. The Greater and Lesser Perfect Systems in English.

mese in one *harmonia* could also serve as a *paramese* in another. It also helped musicians to know, when a melody shifted from an enharmonic to a chromatic mode *genus*, which notes on the instrument could follow that shift either through harmony or direct, note-for-note accompaniment.[24]

At some point before or during the period when the LPS and GPS were created, professional musicians also created a system of musical notation with two sets of symbols, one for voice and one for instrumental accompaniment, along with rudimentary rhythmic notation.[25] Unlike the systems addressed above, these schemes of notation attempted to be pitch-specific; and covered three octaves instead of the 1½ or 2 octaves of the LPS and GPS.[26] Yet another sign of the sophistication of Ancient Greek music lies in the fact that the center of the vocal register requires 24 signs – the letters of the Greek alphabet – to portray a single octave, with 3 letters allotted to each tone.[27] Although the central, "natural" sign for a note was apparently used for melodies with diatonic *harmoniai*, it is hard to tell whether the other two signs would

---

[24] The theorist Cleonides distinguishes four kinds of modulation: by mode, by system (i.e., switching from the Lesser to the Greater Perfect System, or vice versa), by *harmonia* (he uses the term *tonon*), and by melody (i.e., what we would call transposition, involving a change in pitch but not the melodic line). See Cleonides, *Ἐισαγωγή Ἁρμονική* (Introduction to Harmonics), in *Ἀρχαίοι ἁρμονικοί Συγγράφεις* (Ancient Harmonic Treatises), ed. Dimitrios Koutroubas, (Athens: Georgiades, 1995), 246-250.

[25] For charts featuring this notation see Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, 101 and West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 256. West's chart features approximate western pitch-values, which should be treated with caution.

[26] See West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 254-273, and Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, 99-110. West dates the development of this anywhere between the eighth and third century BC (*Ancient Greek Music*, 259), but given Aristoxenus' scornful remarks about notation (see *Ancient Greek Music*, 271), it would appear they were well developed by the fourth century BC.

[27] West believes that the notation does not distinguish between enharmonic and chromatic modes, so that the symbols do not appear to designate specific mode *genera*. NB: West's own "repertory of symbols" (*Ancient Greek Music*, 256) is not used here, in part because of the contradictions that occur when he tries to match modern pitch values to this Ancient notation (*Ancient Greek Music*, 255).

refer to the same note in the chromatic or enharmonic genus.[28] And beyond the more reader-friendly signs in the vocalist's mid-range (with the alphabet written right-side up) the meaning and rationale behind the notation elsewhere is harder to understand.[29] With some of the instrumental notation, for instance, it is possible to visualize the pegs on a lyre twisting this way and that, or even (as West suggests) to read them as directions for fingering on a woodwind instrument like the aulos.[30]

However we understand the origins of ancient pitch-specific notation, its use was very likely a complex affair. Making the best use of this system required mentally aligning the LPS and/or GPS with the range of notes to be used for a specific performance, while keeping in mind the various modal *genera* the composition called for. In practice, a performance of Ancient Greek music required three separate systems – one written and pitch-specific, and the other two transmitted by a combination of intellect and ear (the LPS/GPS and modal *genera*) – working together in harmony.

Order from Chaos: Nomoi, Mese, Modulation and Ethos.

For all its creative possibilities, the chief element regulating Greek melodic composition was that of the *mese* or "center," a note toward which the melody would

---

[28] West notes that in the theoretician Alypius' notation table, produced centuries after Aristoxenus' time, the higher of the two "sharps" was designated for chromatic modes; but this approach is unique and cannot be verified elsewhere (*Ancient Greek Music*, 255, n. 6). Comotti describes the notation as consisting of signs "based on the letters of the alphabet, either in their normal form, or arranged horizontally, or upside-down, or with an added apex, or modified in their shapes" (*Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, 99). West tentatively identifies the instrumental notation's roots in local Greek scripts from the sixth to fifth centuries BC, but neither he nor Comotti are able to provide further rationale for the various uses/abuses of these alphabets.
[29] West offers prevailing theories on the origins of the notation *Ancient Greek Music*, 259-263.
[30] West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 262.

always return.[31] There is evidence that departure from and return to the *mese* had a grammar-like function to the Ancient Greek ear; in one of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*, it is asserted that "all worthwhile songs (*panta ta chrēsta meli*) use the *mese* a lot," explaining further that:

> . . . just as, when, with words, you can remove conjunctions like "and" and "also" and it isn't [proper] Greek, . . . in the same way, for sounds, the *mese* is a conjunction – and the best kind, because it's the sound you encounter most often.[32]

This motif of perpetual return to the *mese* provides a fundamental disciplinary element in what potentially was a chaotic mass of notes; the tonal center appears to have been the element that gave shape and sense to each melody. The concept of modulations among mode *genera* and *harmoniai*, when combined with the concept of a tonal center, confirms that ancient music relied to some extent on formulaic departures and returns to center.[33]

Given the importance and complexity of modulation in music, theorists devoted a lot of time to when and how to accomplish it. The preferred method for modulation, according to Aristoxenus (a protégé of Aristotle's, whose career was closest to Euripides' time), consisted in locating notes held in common between *harmoniai*, or between one *systema* and another.[34] In this scenario, one would arrive

---

[31] But see also Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture* 90-91, where he cautions against defining melodies by looking for 'dominant' or 'sub-dominant' notes – a common Western practice.

[32] After the French translation in *Aristote: Problèmes*, vol. II, *Sections XI à XXVII*, trans. Pierre Louis (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), 105. On the provenance of the *Problems*, Mathiesen (*Apollo's Lyre*, 60) thinks Aristotle's students assembled them after his death; West appears to agree (*Ancient Greek Music*, 250 & n. 94).

[33] See West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 190-194 for a survey of extant fragments of Ancient Greek music. West finds greater variety than formality in the fragments he treats, but allows for the possibility that Greek music, in its most ancient form, may have been more formulaic. Giovanni Comotti, although acknowledging this "dual character" of Greek music, at once improvisatory and traditional, believes the melodies were "substantially repetitive" (Comotti, *Music in Greek and Roman Culture* 8).

[34] Barker, *Greek Musical Writings* 2.131. This was exactly the same method advocated for modulation in Byzantine chant – see Chapter 3 of the present study.

at a note that the present *harmonia* shared in common with another, and then depart from it using notes from that other *harmonia*.[35] Modulations could occur while the melody was traveling in either direction, up or down in pitch; but to have the desired effect it was still necessary to establish one *harmonia* first – and hence create the aural expectation of continuity – before moving on to the next.

Another disciplinary element was the need, in many cases, to work within established melodic genres – the most famous being the *nomoi*. These "rules," or (to borrow a phrase from contemporary jazz) "standards" consisted of a fixed sequence of melodic elements, often narrative in design, using distinct rhythmic and tonal patterns and usually designed to evoke a specific myth. Perhaps the most famous example is the Pythian *nomos*, composed in honor of Apollo's victorious struggle with the Python; competitions were held regularly among composers who wrote their own versions of this melodic narrative and performed them near the sanctuary dedicated to Apollo at the site of the mythic contest itself. Apollo, in his aspect as *Nomimos* or "Standard-giver," is credited with setting the example by which all subsequent *nomoi* were created.[36]

Whether as a matter of course or as a result of disciplinary elements like the *nomoi* and the reliance on a tonal center, melodies using a specific mode *genus* and *harmonia* acquired certain specific contours and hence associations for the listener. And with these associations came the theory that each mode and/or *harmonia* had a unique character, or *ethos*. This *ethos*, in turn, derives from the belief that the melody

---

[35] For another description see Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, 2.328-329.
[36] See Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 58-66, for one treatment of the *nomos*. Mathiesen quotes Proclus' *Chrestomathia* (p. 61) which attributes the *nomos* to Apollo. For a reconstruction of the five movements of the Pythian *nomos* see West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 213.

is an integral aspect of, say, a tragic actor's imitation of a thought, emotion or action. In Aristotle's *Poetics*, *ethos* refers to a character's speech or actions; music being the chief means by which a character expressed him/herself, *ethos* in this case refers to the human characteristics associated with the melody sung by that character, characteristics that could be identified through a melody's specific, formulaic sequence.[37] The concern among music theorists for the melody's tuning system can be attributed to the need for a given mode or *harmonia* to remain associated with specific character types, and specific kinds of action.

Taking the above treatment of mode *genera*, *harmoniai*, melody and notation into consideration, there is a need to revise certain commonly held assumptions about the "simplicity" of Ancient Greek music.[38] Although it contained certain recognizable features and formulaic elements, the use of three different modal *genera* (including microtones) and numerous *harmoniai*, the development of the LPS and GPS as well as the use of a complex pitch-specific system of notation by professionals all speak to a very sophisticated musical culture. Even if it is granted that Early Byzantine hymnography may have relied on diatonic modes (and this is by no means a given), the Ancient Greek tradition provided the framework in which

---

[37]On character generally see Aristotle, *Poetics*, 53 (1450b9) & 79 (1454a18-20). For ethics in melody, see for example Barker, *Greek Musical Writings*, 2.89 (high voices associated with weak/effeminate characters). See also *Greek Musical Writings*, 1.197-198 (Pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems* 19:27): the "moral character" of melody consists of its being a series of notes in action, i.e., played in succession, while a momentary mixture of notes – harmony – lacks character, because of its lack of motion.

[38] See, for example, Edith Hall, "The Singing Actors of Antiquity," 18: "Ancient tunes were repetitive and conformed to traditional melodic patterns." Hall cites Comotti's introduction to his *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*, but he discusses the "dual character of improvisation-variation . . . and, at the same time, of repetitiveness in deference to tradition," a very different formulation. See also Molloy, *Libanius and the Dancers*, 288: "Greek music, in the days of Plato and Aristotle, was simple and fairly narrow in its range, and elaborate refinements were frowned on."

chromatic and enharmonic scales could be re-introduced, without any need for "oriental" or Turkish prompting.

Byzantine Hymnography & Ancient Music Theory: Parallel Universes

As mentioned in the introduction, some of the earliest Byzantine hymnographers embraced Ancient Greek musical theory and notation. This acceptance of ancient theory by Christians did not mean, however, that all ancient music was viewed favorably – catchy theatre tunes and instrumental music were routinely condemned by the Church Fathers.[39] But this did not change the fundamental ways of hearing and composing music that prevailed throughout the Roman world – and which continues to define much of the music from the eastern Mediterranean to this day. As John Baldovin might point out, it was inevitable that an imperially-sponsored Church would adopt the cultural practices of the milieu in which it took root. Moreover, Ancient Greek music theory gave the clergy a ready-made method to articulate which musical forms would be acceptable for liturgical use.[40] And as shall be seen, the ancient theory of the ethical qualities of the modes remained a defining motif of Byzantine music theory.

Egon Wellesz characterizes early Christian hymns written in Ancient Greek notation as "an attempt by educated men to preserve Greek civilization."[41] It was also, less ideologically, a matter of continuity in musical culture. Bishop Synesius of Cyrene (early fifth century CE) once wrote that people like himself sometimes

[39] See Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 79-97, for condemnations of pagan music (theatre music especially) by the early Church Fathers. As Edith Hall points out, St. Jerome's injunction to "sing not with the voice, but with the heart" indicates a preference that Christians "scarcely sing out loud at all" (see "The Singing Actors of Antiquity," 37).
[40] Hence, for example, Clement of Alexandria's rejection of 'effeminate' melodies using the chromatic *genus* (as cited in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 93 & n. 2).
[41] Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 149.

accompanied themselves on the lyre, singing a hymn to Nemesis – who, like winged Victory, had apparently survived as an ideal, rather than a goddess.[42] When he wasn't singing pagan airs on his lyre, Bishop Synesius composed Christian hymns with the aid of a kithara.[43]

The Divine Liturgy became primarily a musical performance during the Early Byzantine period, with musical settings for even the readings from scripture, based on "ecphonetic" notation.[44] And as the Eucharistic prayers and processions continued to grow, chanters and choirs found themselves accompanying the rite for longer and longer periods of time, drawing from an ever-growing repertoire of hymns.[45] The Eastern Church eventually developed its own musical repertoire with its own system of modes by at least the early sixth century; Patriarch Severus of Antioch is generally credited with codifying a cycle of eight *echoi* (modes), four "authentic" and four "plagal," for liturgical performance.[46] Severus is also credited with writing a collection of hymns in each of these modes into a service book known, appropriately, as the *Octoechos* ("eight-mode"). In Severus' scheme, each mode was assigned a specific week on the liturgical calendar, and it would appear that the concept of an

---

[42] West, *Ancient Greek Music*, 384; see also Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 152 and his later *excursus*, 367-368. There is one nicely-written hymn to Nemesis extant, but its authorship is in doubt; one recent theory is that it was penned by Hadrian's court composer, Mesomedes (see Egert Pohlmann and Martin L. West, eds., *Documents of Ancient Greek Music: Extant Melodies and Fragments edited and transcribed with commentary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 106-115).
[43] Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*., 151-152. The instrument's name is in quotes because, given the Church's rejection of pagan musical instruments, Synesius' reference to a kithara may be metaphorical, or an attempt to evoke the bygone days of Greek composer/musicians like Pindar.
[44] On ecphonetic notation (and its roots in the accents of spoken Attic Greek) see Egon Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 246-260.
[45] In the Orthodox tradition, composers are often credited by name, and a number of them – John of Damascus, Romanos the Melode, Kassia, etc. – became saints in recognition of their contributions.
[46] See Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 44 & n. 3. Wellesz, however, is not aware that both ancient and Byzantine music had the same system of melodic formula, and theory *ethos*, to define an individual mode.

eight-week cycle had ancient, pre-Christian roots transmitted, perhaps, via its adoption in the Jewish liturgical tradition.[47]

A common feature of both the eight *echoi* and the Ancient Greek *harmoniai* or *tonoi* is each *echos* has a unique melodic formula, and with these formulae came specific ethical (or spiritual) associations. These formulae, in turn, would have enabled a chanter to transpose liturgical melodies to better suit his vocal range, while retaining the distinct feel of the mode he was singing.[48]

The Church's ban on musical instruments simplified musical performances considerably; even if secular musicians had continued to use ancient notation (and it is not clear that they did) there would have been little need, in the Liturgy, for a system based on instrumental accompaniment.[49] With performances strictly *a cappella*, choirmasters led the chorus orally and conducted performances through a series of hand-signals. By the tenth century, this system of *cheironomia* ("hand-rule") became the basis for a new form of musical notation.

Using the *Octoechos* and its melodic formulae as their framework, Byzantine hymnographers created a wide variety of melodies.[50] And for Orthodox congregations, this experience of formula and innovation was central to the

---

[47] See Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 69-70. Wellesz draws from the work of Eric Werner; see *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1984), 373-406.

[48] As H. J. W. Tillyard notes, "It may therefore be fairly held that a certain amount of transposition or overlapping of modes was adopted in practice . . . the absolute pitch of unaccompanied chant depended largely on the singer's own choice" ("The Modes in Byzantine Music," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 22 (1916-1918): 135-136).

[49] On the Church's attitudes towards (pagan) musical instruments, see for instance Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 91-94. West believes ancient notation fell out of general use at the dawn of the fifth century (*Ancient Greek Music*, 272-273).

[50] For an analysis of this balance between formula and variety, see Jørgen Raasted, "Compositional Devices in Byzantine Chant," in *From Idea to Sound: Proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium Held at Castle Nieborow in Poland, September 4-5, 1985*, ed. Miloš Velimirovič (Krakow: Wydano Nakladem Fundacji Zjednoczonej Europy, 1993), 59-76.

experience of the Liturgy. Egon Wellesz compares this experience to that of a more contemporary western audience:

> The congregation . . . must have taken pleasure in hearing musical phrases which were familiar but were linked together in an unexpected way, just as a modern audience takes pleasure in the recurrence of the themes in a movement of a symphony.[51]

The connection between Ancient Greek music – including the music of tragedy and comedy – and Byzantine hymnography is one of shared musical principles. Early Christian hymns shared the Roman-era preference for simpler diatonic modes; but with the introduction of trained *castrati* as liturgical singers in the late fourth century,[52] new hymns were introduced to compete directly for "market share" with the theatres as well as rival, 'heretical' churches.[53]

Theology as Theory: Pseudo-Dionysius on Music

Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite's imperially-inspired reading of the Divine Liturgy coincides with the same period that produced Severus' *Octoechos*.[54] The *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, which explained how to read the Church's hierarchy as a symbol of the eternal Heavenly hierarchy, also suggested ways of listening to and understanding the expanding corpus of Byzantine hymnography.[55] Ancient Greek theory posited music as the aural manifestation of a spiritual and divine order; Pseudo-Dionysius' treatment of liturgical music built on this tradition by placing Byzantine hymnography into this theoretical framework.

---

[51] Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 361.
[52] See Moran, "Byzantine castrati," 100-101.
[53] Egon Wellesz outlines some early hymnographic controversies in *Byzantine Music*, 147, 149.
[54] See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Dionysius the Areopagite, Pseudo-" I: 629-630.
[55] For a summary of Pseudo-Dionysius' debt to Neo-Platonism see Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 55-60.

Pseudo-Dionysius positions the chanter and choir as instruments of divine revelation who attain a mystical power over the souls of the congregation:

> The sacred description of the divine songs, whose purpose is to praise all the divine words and works of God and to celebrate the holy words and works of godly men, forms a universal hymn and exposition of divine things, conferring on those who recite it in a divine and holy fashion a power capable of receiving and distributing all the mysteries of the hierarchy.[56]

The chief function of chant is to create an atmosphere of spiritual harmony, and can be understood as a revelatory act.[57] Where Neo-Platonists saw music as the first step on the road to divine wisdom, Pseudo-Dionysius defines chant as divine revelation and the performer as an instrument of God's will. Wellesz finds that one effect of this stance is to de-emphasize the creativity of the composer:

> Henceforth the musician is simply a humble hymn-writer, his faith making him an instrument of divine grace. He knows that he can only compose and sing melodies which came into the world of matter as an imperfect echo of the heavenly hymns . . .[58]

Pseudo-Dionysius' treatise, with its emphasis on revelation and the passivity of the musician's role, privileges the structure of Severus' *Octoechos* as a revelation from God, an object of reverence rather than speculation.[59] But his vision harmonizes musical practice with the performance aesthetic of the Divine Liturgy and the visual aesthetic of the sacred image. Severus' system functioned in much the same way as painted icons, and like icons the *Octoechos* would have derived its power from its

---

[56] *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite: The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, trans. Thomas L. Campbell (New York: University Press of America, 1981), 38.
[57] Pseudo-Dionysius, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, 35.
[58] Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 58.
[59] Severus is aware of Pseudo-Dionysius' writings, and used them as part of his defense of Monophysitism – see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1:620 – and it is possible that Pseudo-Dionysius assumed Severus' system in his musical analysis.

formal qualities.[60] But the proliferation of new hymnographic forms attests that there was still room for creative musical expression within the boundaries established by the *Octoechos*;[61] and by the Late Byzantine period, revisions of Pseudo-Dionysius' theories coincided with a thorough reformation of liturgical chant.[62]

Psellos, Mesarites, and the Graeco-Byzantine Revival

In the first centuries after the Iconoclastic period liturgical texts became increasingly standardized. The same period also saw the first great "information revolution" of the Middle Ages: the introduction of annotated, miniscule literary texts that (unlike before) separated words and provided a system of accents for pronunciation. This re-formatting of literary texts coincided – not coincidentally – with the introduction (or standardization) of new systems of musical notation.[63] Byzantine writers and musicians could now record the performance dynamics of a wide variety of traditional texts with a higher degree of accuracy.[64] Hymnographers responded by preserving increasingly complex, decorative melodies for now-standard hymns, and by reworking an existing melody and pushing its aesthetic boundaries further than before.[65]

---

[60] As Jørgen Raasted put it, "Maybe a Byzantine would rather compare the formulaic character of his chant to the ways of icon painters: songs and icons had to follow the traditional patterns, because they were realizations of perennial models – not unlike the Platonic ideas" ("Compositional Devices," 59).
[61] Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 171-245 has a discussion of various hymnographic genres.
[62] See "Koukouzeles' Reforms, and the Hesychast Movement," pp. 107-114 of the present chapter.
[63] The development of new musical notation after the decline of Ancient Greek notation (ca. 4th century CE) is not yet fully understood; for a recent study attempting to bridge the purported "gap" between Early and Middle Byzantine times see Ioannis Papathanasiou and Nikolaos Boukas, "Early Diastematic Notation in Greek Christian Hymnographic Texts of Coptic Origin: A Reconsideration of the Source Material," in *Paleobyzantine Notations III: Acta of the Congress held at Hermen Castle, The Netherlands, in March 2001*, ed. Gerda Wolfram (Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004), 1-25.
[64] See Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 261-310, for one account of the development of Byzantine musical notation.
[65] See Kenneth Levy, "Le "Tournant Décisif" dans l'Histoire de la Musique Byzantine 1071-1261 (The "Decisive Turning Point" in the History of Byzantine Music, 1071-1201)" in *XVe Congrès*

The standardization of performance texts, and preservation of ever more ornate versions of traditional melodies, coincides with a revival of interest in the principles of Ancient Greek music theory. One important figure was the dean of an imperially-founded school of Philosophy (i.e., Humanities) in Constantinople, Michael Psellos (*ca*. 1018-1081), who wrote a brief summary of ancient theory as part of a *Syntagma* or "Compendium" of knowledge on the four ancient sciences.[66] Psellos' synopsis on music indicates that he had access to a wide variety of original sources, and made selective use of them based on his own knowledge.[67]

Judging from his use of the epigram, "music encompasses all things," Psellos favors the mystical approach of Pseudo-Dionysius.[68] Traditionally, music was one of four sciences, so the summary includes an extended geometrical treatment of musical intervals. The nomenclature Psellos adopts for his theoretical system also reveals a preference for diatonic modes;[69] when describing the three ancient modal *genera*, he dismisses the enharmonic (i.e., microtonal) as "the most un-singable" of them all. He prizes the diatonic for its nobility, and makes the dubious claim that Plato accepted

---

International d'Études Byzantines, vol. 3, *Art et Archaéologie*, ed. Maria A. Gavrilis (Athens, 1976), 281-288. Levy addresses the radical changes from the oldest form of musical notation, little more than an *aide-de-memoire* for orally-trained singers, to a more pitch-specific notation.

[66] For a brief and colorful biography of Psellos, culled from Ostrogorsky's *History of the Byzantine State*, see Thomas J. Mathiesen's *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 643-647.

[67] For a list of Psellos' sources see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 650.

[68] See *Anonymi Logica et Quadriuium, cum Scholiis Antiquis* (An Anonymous work on Logic and the Quadrivium, with Ancient Scholia), ed. J. L. Heiberg (Copenhagen: Host & Son, 1929), 65, line 9. On the authorship of the "Compendium:" in favor of Psellos' authorship see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 648-650; against, see Christian Hannick, "Byzantinische Musik (Byzantine Music)" in *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (The Standard Secular Literature of the Byzantines), ed. Herbert Hunger (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1978), 185-186.

[69] Mathiesen (*Apollo's Lyre* 650-655) concerns himself mostly with the question of Psellos' influence, which in itself is a valuable contribution. In his early study, Lucas Richter summarizes the contents of Psellos' summary, but does not address the question of the Psellos' *Systema* (see "Fragen der spätgriechisch-byzantinischen Musiktheorie: Die Erforschung der byzantinischen Musik (Questions on Late Greek & Byzantine Music Theory: the Investigation of Byzantine Music)," in *Byzantinische Beitrage* (Byzantine Contributions), ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin, 1964), 205-210).

diatonic modes.[70] Whatever the accuracy or contemporary value of Psellos' work – one scholar has characterized it as "uneven and eclectic"[71] – his popularity is measured by the many extant versions of the "Compendium" in manuscripts from the eleventh century onward. Psellos' work features prominently in Medieval and Renaissance-era compilations of ancient musical treatises, and so became inextricably bound to the revival of musical studies in both periods.[72] The authority attached to his name also ensured that Psellos' *Syntagma* remained in use in upper-level classes right up to the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople.

In addition to the *Syntagma*, either Psellos or someone from his circle wrote a brief account of Greek tragedy in the form of a letter to a student, which remains a rich source of information for modern scholars.[73] The constant use of the past tense and the lack of comparisons with contemporary practice confirm that the author is writing about a dead art form; but the detailed description of tragic composers' techniques indicates that knowledge about how the music of ancient drama might have *sounded* remained an important element in education during the Middle Byzantine period.

The central role of education in Ancient Greek music can be seen in a description by Nicholas Mesarites of higher-level classes for boys at the Church of

---

[70] See *Anonymi Logica*, 72, lines 3-6.
[71] Richter, "Fragen der byzantinischen Musiktheorie," 208.
[72] See Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 653-654, for a reconstruction of distribution patterns for Psellos' *Syntagma* in later manuscripts.
[73] The edited Greek text and critical commentary, without translation, can be found in Robert Browning, "A Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy," in *ΓΕΡΑΣ: Studies Presented to George Thomson on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, ed. L. Varcle and R. F. Willetts (Prague: Charles University, 1963), 67-82.

the Holy Apostles in Constantinople at the turn of the thirteenth century.[74] Mesarites makes no secret of his distaste for classical education, and mocks its pretensions even as he details the class's topics for the day. In spite of himself, Mesarites manages to give an accurate account of a typical lesson in Ancient Greek music theory on the eve of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The Church of the Holy Apostles, by reputation equal in splendor to Hagia Sophia and since Constantine's time the traditional burial place of Byzantine emperors, would have hosted one of the most distinguished schools for the male elite in Constantinople.[75] Musical training there would have had a significant impact on the Byzantine cultural scene: some would grow up to become secular court composers or hymnographers – positions that, by Late Byzantine times, appear to have merged into one. Their classmates, on the other hand, would be in a position to commission musical compositions and assume the role of Byzantium's arbiters of musical taste.

Late Byzantine Reform & Theory

Pachymeres, Bryennius and the Grand Reunion

With the Fourth Crusade and the Venetians' brutal sack of Constantinople in 1204, the Byzantine court and its schools moved across the Bosphorus to Nicaea. Given the intense rate of activity after the restoration of the Byzantine royal family to Constantinople in 1261, music scholarship must have remained a high priority there. A series of new theoretical works culminated in efforts to fully integrate Ancient

[74] See Wellesz, Byzantine Music, 63; the complete Greek text with English translation of Wellesz's source can be found in Glanville Downey, "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47.6 (1957), 855-918 (English translation, 861-897).
[75] For a discussion of Mesarites and the Church of the Holy Apostles see Vasiliev, *History*, 555.

Greek music with Byzantine chant.[76] Although there is still disagreement about whether the Byzantines understood ancient music "correctly," and about which aspects of ancient music survived into the Middle Ages, there is no question that in musical as well as literary culture the theme was one of continuity.

Among the first to write a new treatise on music was the classicist and patriarchal cleric, George Pachymeres.[77] Like Psellos before him, Pachymeres composed a detailed *Syntagma* of the four sciences, including an extensive treatise on music. Because Pachymeres regarded music as a case of applied mathematics, he relied heavily on the works of ancient music theorists in his work. After an exhaustive comparison of various ancient note-systems, Pachymeres enumerates eight ancient modes or *harmoniai* – an odd choice because his chief source, Claudius Ptolemy, names only seven. The reason for eight, however, soon becomes clear:

> The highest [and eighth] of all is called the Super-Half-Lydian, and is said to be the First *Echos* by composers [*melopoiōn*], and the Half-Lydian the Second, the Lydian the Third, the Phrygian the Fourth, while the Dorian is the First Plagal, the Sub-Lydian Second Plagal, the Sub-Phrygian the Heavy (*Barys*, or "Third Plagal"), and the Sub-Dorian, Fourth Plagal.[78]

---

[76] N. G. Wilson (*Scholars of Byzantium*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1996), 218-225) gives a bleak picture of Greek scholarship during the Latin occupation of Constantinople; although he is able to support his arguments with anecdotal evidence, the scholarship that emerges only some 30-40 years into the Palaeologan era is qualitatively different, in the case of music especially. This would indicate that in spite of tremendous losses, steady progress continued to be made in the traditional sciences during this period.

[77] The following analysis owes much to Christian Hannick's treatment of Pachymeres; see Hannick, "Byzantinische Musik," 188-191. For background information see the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Pachymeres, George," 3.1550; for Pachymeres' educational lineage, see also *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Akropolites, George," 1.49. See also R. P. Laurent's Preface to a posthumous edition of Paul Tannery's *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymere* (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940), xxiv-xxxiii.

[78] From Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymere*,146, lines 29-32. Pachymeres reiterates this equivalence of tunings at the close of his is 51st and final chapter (*Quadirivium de Georges Pachymere*, 190, lines 10-16).

Pachymeres is the first extant theorist to posit that the Ancient Greek *harmoniai* were equivalent to the *Octoechos*.[79] Exactly how or when this belief in the ancient lineage of the Church's modal system took hold remains a mystery.[80] A contemporary, anonymous dialogue the *Eratopokriseis* ('Questions and Answers') goes even further by claiming that the ordinal names of the *echoi* (First, Second, etc.) are merely their *bathmoi* or "intervals" in the modal system, while their real names are the ancient ones.[81] In spite of these claims, however, there were disputes over which ancient *harmoniai* corresponded to which of the Byzantine *echoi*. The correspondances in the *Eratopokriseis* differ radically from Pachymeres'[82] while others turned Pachymeres' correspondence table upside-down – as in the *Hagiopolites* treatise[83] – or inside-out, as in the liturgical music manual known as the *Papadiki*.[84]

There are several ways to account for the confusion in these tables: one is to recognize that there had always been a subjective element in the ethical theory of

---

[79] Hannick, "Byzantinische Musik," 190.

[80] As was the case with Manuel Bryennius' treatise; see *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius*, trans. G. H. Jonker (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1970), 312-321.

[81] "These aren't really the names of the eight *echoi*; for saying "first, second, third, and fourth – they're intervals, not names. But their names are these: The first is actually [lit., "instead"] Dorian, the second Lydian, …")." From *Die Erotapokriseis des Pseudo-Johannes Damaskenos Zum Kirchengesang* (The "Eratopokriseis" of Pseudo-John of Damascus on Church Hymns), Christian Hannick and Gerda Wolfram, eds. (Vienna: Osterreichschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 597-600.

[82] On the approximate chronology for this dialogue (the seventh of ten separate sections), see Hannick and Wolfram, *Erotapokriseis*, 20-21.

[83] The treatise is so named because its associations with the "Holy City" of Jerusalem. For Greek text and English translation see Jørgen Raasted, "The Hagiopolites: A Byzantine Treatise on Musical Theory," *Cahiers de l'Institute du Moyen-Ăge Grec et Latin* 45 (1983). For earlier analyses of Hagiopolites see A. Gastoué, "L'Importance Musicale, Liturgique et Philologique du Ms. Hagiopolites (The musical, liturgical and philological importance of the Hagiopolites Manuscript)," *Byzantion* 5 (1929): 347-355, or Carsten Høeg, "La Theorie de la Musique Byzantine (The Byzantine Theory of Music)," *Revue des Études Grecques* 35 (1922): 321-334.

[84] See Lucas Richter, "Fragen byzantinische Musik," 195, for a comparative chart of Pachymeres' eight ancient *harmoniai*, compared with three distinct Byzantine variants on the *echoi*, as well as with the eight-tone system of Western chant. The term *Papadiki* usually describes a brief, practical instruction manual on the mechanics of a later, more elaborate form of Byzantine chant as perfected by the composer Ioannes Koukouzeles – see Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 13-14..

music – associations of certain qualities ("effeminate," "manly," etc.) came down to personal taste as often as not. Second, although there had been some continuity in musical practice – as there was in the use of Attic Greek – it had undergone many changes over time. The popularity of modal *genera* and the modes based on them contined to wax and wane, which would have affected the performance of nearly every ancient mode in Byzantine times. Third, as a practical matter, Byzantine musical theorists could group the ancient modes by tonal position or by their ethical associations. This is made plain in the *Hagiopolites*, where the author explains why he does not give the Dorian mode (Plato's favorite) a prominent position in his tables:

> We do not name the quantity of sounds, but the quality . . . Thus, the designations of the Echoi are not made for counting purposes but to represent the sound quality of the Melos [*harmonia*]. This is also why the Dorian Melos did not receive the place of honour among the Echoi [i.e., the position of First Authentic]; this place was given to the Hypodorian, because it is better than the other Echoi . . .[85]

The author of the *Hagiopolites* stresses the need to classify the eight *echoi* in accordance with their *poiotita*, rendered here as "quality," which in this context connotes *ethos* or character. In this case, the Byzantine *Octoechos* and ancient *harmoniai* were judged in the same way; but even the qualitative assessment in *Hagiopolites* was not universally accepted, and it remains to be seen whether Pachymeres' tables were composed out of fealty to ancient theorists, out of his own contemporary tastes, or whether a more nuanced understanding of the *harmoniai* – as they may have been performed in Middle Byzantine times – was involved.[86]

---

[85] From Raasted, "Hagiopolites," 38-39. Raasted's translation is by his own admission provisional; a fully edited, text-critical edition of this important treatise has yet to appear, for reasons Raasted explains in the introduction to this translation ("Hagiopolites," 1-8).

[86] As Mathiesen puts it, "Pachymeres' treatises emphasized the continuity of Greek culture, an important value during the Palaeologan renaissance" (*Apollo's Lyre*, 657). For a standard de-bunking of these correspondences see Peter Jeffery, "Octōēchos," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed

Pachymeres' academic treatise was soon to be eclipsed by Manuel Bryennios' *Harmonics*, a full-length study that also assumes links between ancient and modern practice.[87] Bryennius' career coincides with some of the most intense academic activity of the Late Byzantine period,[88] but his research methods and his independent frame of mind distinguish him from other Late Byzantine scholars. Thomas J. Mathiesen notes:

> In writing his treatise, Bryennius did not copy or paraphrase a single source … Rather, he worked through the range of material available to him; compared different authors' treatments of similar subjects; adopted now one author's treatment, now another's; and attempted to enlarge and clarify obscure passages. More than any other [authors] . . . Bryennius functioned in a way that anticipated modern historical and text critical methods.[89]

One sign of his originality comes when Bryennius, like Pachymeres, discusses the "species of melody" or tunings, using the ancient term *tonoi* and the contemporary term *echoi* as if they were synonymous. Bryennius accepts the usage of ordinals – First Authentic, First Plagal, etc. – as names of modes; unlike Pachymeres, he takes the time to explain why contemporary composers use these ordinals, as well as why they make the distinction between "authentic" and "plagal" *echoi*:

> The explanation is that, when composers consider a series only as to its pitch, they are wont to indicate one species as the first, the next as the second and so on . . . but when they consider the notes of the *tetrachordal* [modes], by means of which they can determine exactly which of the species is placed higher and which lower than the others, then they name the various species not in order of pitch but in order of the notes in the tetrachordal [modes] . . . [and they call a species plagal] either because its [central tone] lies next to the

28 February 2006), http://www.grovemusic.com. As with other areas of Byzantine musicology, further inquiry is needed to determine how these correspondences were crafted.

87 For summaries of Bryennius' work see Hannick, "Byzantinische Musik," 192-194, and for a more detailed critique of Bryennius' content and methodology see Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 657-667.

88 See the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Bryennius, Manuel," 1:330, and Jonker's summary in *Harmonics*, 17-20. That Pachymeres' history of this period makes no mention of Bryennius only confirms the claim of Bryennius' student, Theodore Metochites, that his teacher's work went largely unknown and unrecognized (Jonker, *Harmonics*, 20).

89 Mathiesen, *Apollo's Lyre*, 660.

> [topmost tone] of the First Echos or, rather, because from this note onwards the melody begins to deviate (*plagizein*) and to pass to the lower region of the voice.[90]

These explanations might not persuade modern readers, but apparently contained enough information for Byzantine and western readers alike. The primacy of the tetrachord (a musical 'given' since antiquity) the division of the *echoi* by means of two tetrachords, and the description of downward movement as a signature of the plagal *echoi* – which, in many Late Byzantine transcriptions, feature a distinct step-wise descent in their cadences – are all attested from other sources, and would probably have been drawn in large part from contemporary experience.[91]

Bryennius' treatise, although rooted in the Ancient Greek tradition and with a heavy emphasis on the scientific aspects of music, both assumes and demonstrates its relevance to contemporary musical practice. His ultimate concern, as expressed in the last chapters of Book 3 of the *Harmonics*, was the proper composition of melody. It is traditional among Byzantine musicologists to draw a dividing line between works like the *Harmonics* and performance guides like the *papadike*; in Byzantine eyes, however, the theory and performance of music complemented and informed each other. The scientific branch guided composers as they created their melodies, while the performance branch taught chanters how to interpret the composer's work.

The patterns of scholarship traced here indicate that the study of Ancient Greek music, both in theory and performance, were fundamental to understanding the nature of Byzantine sacred chant and its modal system the *Octoechos*. The barriers

[90] Quotation after Jonker, *Harmonics*, 317-319.

[91] For examples of step-like, descending cadence formulas in the plagal modes, see "Hymns from the Hirmologion,' in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 371-384. These transcriptions, in western notation and assuming a diatonic scale, do not necessarily reflect the richness and tonality of the source texts.

now erected in western music history classes between ancient and contemporary practice did not exist in Byzantium, for the simple reason that the east, unlike the west, never suffer a profound cultural breach. As Ihor Ševčenko explains this key distinction:

> Antique literary and scientific culture was endemic in Byzantium, and the Byzantines were too familiar with it to react to antiquity as violently as did the West, which had almost forgotten it for centuries. What we call Byzantine renaissances are just intensifications of the elite's contacts with antiquity – which were never lost – rather than rediscoveries of ancient culture.[92]

Just as the heavenly bodies continued to revolve around the Earth in accordance with Ptolemy's precepts and calculations, the melodies of the Byzantine world continued to take their course in accordance with ancient precepts laid out by Ptolemy and his predecessors in Antiquity. However many changes ancient music underwent in each individual performance, and from one place and time to another, the principles of musical performance remained the same – and where they differed, even the differences were understood in terms of ancient theory and practice.

Koukouzeles' Reforms, and the Hesychast Movement

By the late thirteenth century, when Pachymeres and Bryennius were active, one composer is credited with inspiring Byzantine chant's last great aesthetic leap forward. Ioannes Papadopoulos, better known as Koukouzeles, is credited with creating and codifying some of the most elaborate hymns of his time.[93] Although it is

---

[92] Ihor Ševčenko, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, ed. Paul A. Underwood (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 19.

[93] See Edward V. Williams and Christian Troelsgård, "Koukouzeles," *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 28 February 2006), http://www.grovemusic.com. See also *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Koukouzeles, John," 2.1155; Dimitri Conomos, the author of this entry, also has a brief biographical reference in *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985), 79. Although traditionally dated to the Late

unlikely that he is responsible for every innovation associated with his name, Koukouzeles' work coincides with numerous important developments. His career appears to coincide with the introduction of a new category of musical notation, the "Great Hypostases," which were usually written in red ink (lending a high priority to their proper execution) and which gave composers even greater artistic control over performances of their work.[94] Along with an increase in melodic variety and a greater degree of control over the music's dynamics came a more refined sense of tonal centers; Dimitri Conomos finds that Koukouzeles' new melodies became "fully integrated into the octoechal formulas [which] gravitate inevitably to strong tones in the modal hierarchy."[95]

To ensure the proper execution of his melodies with their complex modulations, Koukouzeles wrote manuals explaining his system and created a wheel or *trochos* illustrating modulations among the modes.[96] The most popular method of modulation before and after Koukouzeles' time was *parallagē*, "alternation," which involved moving to the central note in the *echos* you wished to modulate into. This was regarded by Koukouzeles and his successors as crude and old-hat: the preferred

---

Byzantine period, there have recently been arguments that Koukouzeles' career may have been some two centuries earlier: see Ioannis Papathanasiou, "The Dating of the Sticherarion EBE 883," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 66 (1996): 35-41. The nature of Koukouzeles' reforms and the lack of evidence for his style of chant before the late fourteenth century tend to confirm the later date.

[94] Musical signs or neumes could be broken down into three categories: *somata* ("bodies"), for rhythm, *pnevmata* ("spirits"), for basic melody, and *hypostases* ("substances"); the theological significance of the first two terms is self-evident, with the last term recalling the language of the Orthodox formula for the Trinity – *mia ousia, treis hypostases* ("One Being, Three Substances"). Liturgical manuscripts still use a combination of black and red ink, the latter color emphasizing the more important aspects of the melody. Gregory Stathis ("Summary: Ioannes Koukouzeles' "Method of Theseis" and its Application," in *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform*, ed. Christian Troelsgård (Athens: Danish Institute, 1997), 203) notes that Koukouzeles' teacher Ioannes Glykys is credited with developing the method of signs later perfected by Koukouzeles.

[95] Conomos, *Late Byzantine Communion Cycle*, 85.

[96]See Jørgen Raasted, *Intonation Formulas and Modal Structures in Byzantine Musica Manuscripts* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1966), 51, for a facsimile of this chart.

method, and one with roots dating back to antiquity, was referred to as *phthora* or "dissolution," and involved selecting a note (other than the center) that the two *echoi* held in common as the site for modulation.[97]

The new service book associated with Koukouzeles, the *Akoloutheia* ("Sequence" or "Office"), did not feature his new kalophonic chants exclusively, but contained hymns in a variety of styles.[98] As shall be seen in the performance rubrics for the Late Byzantine *Office of the Three Children*, which emerged shortly after Koukouzeles' time, liturgical performances in Late Byzantium drew from a variety of hymnographic genres.

The most striking genre associated with Koukouzeles and his school was the *kratema*, a passage of pure music sung with nonsense syllables, so called because it "holds back" the progress of a hymn's lyrics and melody.[99] In a liturgical context the *kratema* derives its effect from its rejection of conventional discourse; words having accomplished their task for the moment, the chanter moves into a nonverbal, purely phatic realm where the congregation is invited to abandon reason and let the music communicate on its own terms.

Songs with nonsense syllables had long been a popular secular form, however – they figure prominently in the Early Byzantine *Gothic Dance*, for example, which

---

97 See ibid., 44-45, for an explanation of the two methods. The term *phthora*, like other Late Byzantine musical signs, has theological implications; it is the term used by the Hesychast monk Gregory Palamas (about whom see below) when he describes Adam's "corruption" in the garden of Eden. See John Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'Étude de Gregoire Palamas* (An Introduction to the Study of Gregory Palamas) (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1959), 183.

98 For a brief account of the *akoloutheia* and its contents see Diane Touliatos, "The Byzantine Amamos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1979), 32-34.

99 See Touliatos, "Byzantine Amamos Chant," 33 & n. 20 for a brief description of the *kratema*. Dimitri Conomos notes that the origins of wordless chant goes back to Christianity's earliest days (*Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1974), 273), while Touliatos points out that nonsense syllables had been a staple of Greek music since antiquity; see her 'Nonsense Syllables in the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Traditions," *Journal of Musicology* 7.2 (1989), 231-243.

was performed in court during the winter holidays[100] – so it is not clear when and how they were introduced into the Liturgy. However it came into Church practice, the *kratema*'s form suited the aesthetics of prayer advocated by an especially influential spiritual movement from the Late Byzantine period – Hesychasm ("Quietism" or "Tranquility"). The term refers to a number of interrelated concepts: originally a reference to traditional, monastic silent prayers (its Early Byzantine connotation), by Late Byzantium it had become attached to a series of formal spiritual exercises designed for monk-initiates. It also described theological concepts derived from the spiritual teachings of senior hesychast monks.[101]

The concept of "Tranquility" as a way of life and prayer had long been a part of monastic life, but was not codified as Church doctrine before Gregory Palamas' time. Palamas, who eventually became Archbishop of Thessalonica, based his doctrine on the concept of the inexpressibility of God. Divinity, for Palamas, cannot be fully comprehended by reason and is hence unknowable (in an intellectual sense) and inexpressible.[102] It was possible, however, to commune with the Almighty without words, by virtue of the emanations of divine "energy" (*energeia*) that encompassed all of creation. Although seen as existing beyond all concepts of being, nature or reason, God was understood to exteriorize himself through his *energia* and

---

[100] The Gothic Dance is recorded in the ninth-century Book of Ceremonies – see Albert and Charles Vogt, eds, *Le Livre des Cérémonies* (The Book of Ceremonies) (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1935), 1.182-185. On its origins in Early Byzantium see Eugenia Bolognesi Recchi Franceschini, "The Iron Masks: The Persistence of Pagan Festivals in Christian Byzantium," *Byzaninische Forschungen* 21 (1995): 118-122. Franceschini argues for its origins as early as the late fourth century.

[101] See the Introduction to John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1974).

[102] A brief account of *hesychasm* can be found in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Hesychasm," 2.923-924. The following analysis will be based in part on Fr. Basil Krivosheine, "The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas," *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* (1938; Reprint, London: Geo. E. J. Coldwell Ltd, 1954).

thus participate in the world; this participation, in turn, facilitated prayerful communication between God and creation.

Although hesychastic communication with God required a rejection of reason, this did not involve a rejection of the natural world; in Palamas' system, human beings were superior even to angels, who unlike men had not been given sovereignty over creation.[103] Both body and soul were partners in Palamas' system, because only when fused together could man achieve the status of being created in God's image. The typological approach to Byzantine ritual was thus expanded to the point where man himself could become a living icon.

Palamas' theology substantially altered the traditional analogical approach to Byzantine ritual. Pseudo-Dionysius, in his *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, had established a way of reading liturgy as a reflection of an eternal, heavenly liturgy. But whereas Hesychasm's critics tended to classify this kind of analogy as reflecting a *barrier* between the divine and natural realms, Palamas regarded Pseudo-Dionysus' system as reflecting a dynamic, two-way connection between them by virtue of God's *energeia*. As Meyendorff explains.

> "For [Palamas], "understanding *via* analogy" had a mystical character: for him, analogies did not just have a symbolic value . . . but constituted a true relationship with God."[104]

---

[103] Krivosheine, "Ascetic and Theological Teaching," 3. For further explanation of man's superiority to angels see Gregory Palamas, *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, trans. Robert E. Sinkewicz (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1988), 116-127 & 154-159.

[104] "Pour [Palamas], la "connaissance par analogie" possédait un caractère mystique: l'analogie n'avait pas seulement pour lui une valeur de symbole, comme le voulait Barlaam, mais il constituait une affinité réele avec Dieu" John Meyendorff, "Notes sur l'influence dionysienne en Orient (Notes on the influence of [Pseudo] Dionysus in the Orient)" *Studia Patristica* 2 (1957): 550. One of the ironies of the hesychast controversy was that both sides in the debate cited Pseudo-Dionysus in their arguments. Meyendorff explains what aspects of Pseudo-Dionysus appealed to each side, and how each chose to use him.

Where Pseudo-Dionysus' theories had revised Neo-Platonic philosophy in the light of Christian theology, Palamas' re-interpretation takes this Neo-Platonic theology and raises it to a more mystical level.[105]

Although aware of the fickle nature of natural phenomena, Palamas privileges the faculties of sense-perception because they are unknown to the angels, and hence markers of man's superiority.[106] Through this scenario comes an understanding of how liturgical performance, music included, participates in the divine energies and thus provides both performer and congregant alike a unique opportunity, through self-discipline and prayer, to participate in the divine *energeia*. Pseudo-Dionysius portrays the chanter as a performer who can attune the congregation to higher thoughts; Palamas goes further by erasing any perceptible barriers between God, chanter and congregant, envisioning a unity with divinity that is ever-present, not merely inferred or invoked through symbolic words and actions.[107]

Hesychasm was easily misunderstood by outsiders, and Palamas had to defend its precepts in heated debate, and eventually triumphed.[108] His mystical theory of music, rooted in his privileging of sense perception and his theory of a universal

---

[105] Palamas' qualified rejection of traditional Greek philosophy is evident throughout the first *Triad* of his "Defense of the Holy Hesychasts;" see Gregory Palamas, *Défense des saints Hésychastes* (A Defense of the Holy Hesychasts), ed. and trans. Jean Meyendorff, 2 vols. (Louvain: Université Catholique, 1959), 1.8 & ff.

[106] "We alone of all creatures possess also a faculty of sense perception in addition to those of intellection and reason . . . Furthermore, God granted to men alone that not only could the invisible word of the mind be subject to the sense of hearing when joined to the air, but also that it could be put down in writing and seen with and through the body. Thereby God leads us to a clear faith in the visitation and manifestation of the supreme Word through the flesh in which all angels have no part at all" (Palamas, *The One Hundred Fifty Chapters*, 157-159).

[107] Meyendorff explains the status of Old Testament symbolism in Palamas' system; Christ's incarnation eliminates the barriers implicit in O.T. theology, so that for the congregation and celebrants of the Christian liturgy symbols are no longer necessary, because "Le Christ est réelement présent en eux et leur est accessible sans intermédiaries symboliques (Christ is truly present among them, and is accessible to them without [any] symbolic intermediaries);" (Jean Meyendorff, *Introduction à Palamas*, 270.

[108] On Hesychasm and the controversy it aroused see Vasiliev, *History*, 2.665-670.

divine presence would prevail from the mid-fourteenth century onward. It is not clear to what extent Palamas' theology was prompted or inspired by the musical reforms of his day; but once Hesychasm had the official endorsement of Church and State, it coincided comfortably with the ongoing reforms in liturgical chant. And in the *kratema*, whose nonsense syllables mirrored Palamas' injunction to abandon reason, Hesychasm found a means of expressing its key concepts as part of the Liturgy.[109]

Whereas the Medieval west saw numerous radical changes in the Mass and its ritual aesthetic, Byzantium was in a position to build upon a continuous tradition of religious and philosophical thought. Movements like Hesychasm drew their power from their roots in the earliest of Church teachings, which in some instances (like Pseudo-Dionysius) were adapted from pagan philosophy. Hesychasts saw themselves as clarifying earlier theories, not overturning or replacing them. Similarly, developments in Byzantine chant can be seen as rooted in a continuity of musical thought from antiquity, based on the Church's careful adaptation of the *Octoechos* to pre-existing theoretical and performance models.

It would be simplistic, however, to define the liturgical music as a purely spiritual phenomenon; ever since antiquity, it had been common practice to analyze works of art by breaking them down into their aesthetic, political and spiritual components. A similar process would have been at work especially during the Late Byzantine period, when the same musicians performed in both the court and church

---

[109] Koukouzeles eventually retired to Mount Athos, the monastic community that was the center of the Hesychast movement. But it remains to be seen whether his work in Constantinople, prior to his retirement, had this influence (see Williams and Troelsgård, "Koukouzeles").

under imperial sponsorship.[110] Koukouzeles' position as court composer and choir director assumed some degree of equivalence between sacred and secular music; and although Koukouzeles and his chanters would have found ways to navigate between the sacred and secular realms, their dual identity would have complicated their audiences' responses. If a *kratema* sung in Hagia Sophia was too skillfully constructed, it might have drawn attention to itself as a professionally-produced musical product; its value as a moment of spiritual communication would have been compromised. Moreover, listeners familiar with the secular *kratema* composed by Koukouzeles would find themselves, even during the Liturgy at Hagia Sophia, comparing the aesthetic qualities of the master's work in both venues.

The tension between spirit and spectacle during the Late Byzantine period would have been heightened during performances of the *Office of the Three Children*. Although constructed largely in the tradition of the "sung office," *asmatikē akoloutheia*, it contained elements that were unprecedented in Orthodox liturgical practice. The remaining portions of this study will explore the roots, aesthetic values and performance dynamics of the *Office of the Three Children* in an attempt to understand whether, or how, the Orthodox liturgical aesthetic may have changed in the years leading up to the Fall of Constantinople.

---

[110] Perhaps the earliest evidence for this is in Theodore Balsamon's twelfth-century commentary on the canons of the Council in Trullo: Balsamon contrasts the disreputable mime-shows of antiquity with the "dignified royal games" (επιτιμία βασιλικα′ παίγνια) of his day, including one entitled *Octoechos* (see *Patrologia Graeca* 137.693a-b) – about which see Appendix 2, "A History of Byzantine Entertainments."

Part II: A Study of the Office of the Three Children

Introduction

Having addressed the development of Orthodoxy's spatial practices, performance aesthetic and musical practice, the final chapters of this study will explore the question of Byzantine sacred drama by focusing on the *Office of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace*, arguably the most 'dramatic' of all the rites performed in the history of Byzantium. The *Office*, a Late-Byzantine rite performed annually in mid-December on the Sunday of the Holy Fathers, celebrated the miraculous rescue of the Prophet Daniel's three friends – Ananiah, Azariah, and Mishael -- from the fiery furnace of King Nebuchannazar.[1] The use of three soloists designated as "children," references to a performance area designated as a "furnace," as well as the spectacle of an angel that descended towards the "furnace," have led some to classify the *Office* as an example of Byzantine liturgical drama.

The development of the *Office* during a period roughly contemporary with the foundation of the Corpus Christi festivals in the west has led to the impression that both the eastern and western churches underwent a similar process of "development" from ritual to theatre. This notion has remained largely unchallenged among western scholars, in spite of evidence that the *Office*'s authors regarded it as a ritual, and took

[1] See Dan. 3:1-98 (LXX). NB: The Greek translation of Jewish scripture is known as the Septuagint, after the "Seventy" scholars who collaborated on the project. Verse numbers relating to the *Office* will be taken from the Septuagint edition, for reasons explained below. The Children may perhaps be better known by their Chaldean names; Shedrach, Midrach and Abednego.

offense at the comparison.[2] Reassessment of the evidence becomes even more important in light of questions raised about the use of terms like "drama" to describe western Medieval performance practice. As noted above, Michal Kobialka argues strongly against classifying these performances in modern, theatrical terms.

Kobialka advocates that we work from an awareness that the narrative of history hinges, first and foremost, "on the background where the past projected what it believed was worthy of record and safe-keeping," – i.e., our primary source materials – it being understood that even this background material is quite selective. Rather than participate in a process of delimitation and silencing of these voices,

---

[2] Scholarship on the *Office* can be summarized briefly as follows: Constantine Sathas was the first to mention references the *Office*; some years later, A. Dmitrievskiĭ ("Chin peshchnago dieistva (On the Furnace Play)" *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik* I (1894): 553-600), addressed the origins of a later, explicitly theatrical Russian version of the *Office* known as "The Furnace Play" (about which, see Appendix 7) and included a transcription of one version of the Byzantine *Office*. Venetia Cottas (*Le Théâtre à Byzance* (Theatre in Byzantium) (Paris: Paul Guenther, 1931)), offered a detailed analysis of the Byzantine portion of Dmitrievskiĭ's findings (98-103), and concluded the *Office* was an example of a Byzantine "*mystère*" (258). George La Piana devoted so much energy to castigating Sathas and Cottas that he limited his remarks on the *Office* to a brief mention of Sathas's and Dmitrievskiĭ's studies ("The Byzantine Theatre," *Speculum* 11 (1936), 174). Soon after La Piana, Samuel Baud-Bovy found that the evidence for any Byzantine sacred drama was unconvincing ("Sur un "Sacrifice d'Abraham" de Romanos et sur L'Existence d'un Théâtre Religieux à Byzance (On an "Abraham's Sacrifice," Romanos and the Existence of a religious theatre in Byzantium)" *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 321-334). On the other hand, Miloš Velimirović's groundbreaking study ("Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," (*Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962): 351-385) was the first since Cottas to enumerate the dramatic and theatrical elements in the *Office*; using Karl Young's criteria, he concluded it was an example of Byzantine liturgical drama (351-3). Samuel Baud-Bovy, returning to the *Office* in his later years ("Le théâtre religeux, Byzance et l'occident (Religious theatre, Byzantium and the West)" *Hellenika* 28 (1975): 328-349), admits the *Office* contains within it a "germe dramatique" (335) but maintains that Orthodox clergy's repugnance for pagan theatre prevented the development of Byzantine sacred drama. A number of Western scholars have since adopted Velimirović's terminology, referring to the *Office* as a "liturgical drama" -- see Robert F. Taft, "The Liturgy of the Great Church," 74, as well as Alexander Lingas, "The Liturgical Place and Origins of the Byzantine Liturgical Drama of the Three Children," in *Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers* (4-7 November 1993, Princeton University), 81-82 (revised and delivered at the 1997 meeting of the Royal Music Academy, Oxford, England. The author would like to thank Dr. Lingas for providing a copy of the complete, revised paper, and other important materials for the present study.) Enrico Maltese ("Sulle tracce dello 'spettacolo sacro' a Bisanzio (On the traces of "sacred spectacle" in Byzantium)," in *Da Bisanzio a San Marco: Musica e Liturgia* (From Byzantium to St. Mark's: Music and Liturgy), ed. Giulio Cattin (Venice: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1997), 33-42) used much the same evidence as Cottas and Velimirović to deny that the *Office* was a drama. More recently, Walter Puchner maintains the evidence is "of doubtful value" ("Acting in the Byzantine Theatre," 321).

Kobialka finds it more fruitful to write with the aim of revealing as diverse a context as possible, opening up an event's myriad interpretive possibilities. The natural desire to produce something intelligible for the reader needs to be balanced with knowledge of the inherent complexity of the event. Hence Kobialka's preference for the Medieval term *representatio* to describe performances commonly referred to as dramas, and his stated goal to demonstrate, with regard to a selection of Medieval performance events, that:

> [R]epresentation is a heterogeneous discursive practice, which was defined and redefined, disseminated and erased, and institutionalized and internalized within the dynamic field of the ever-shifting relationships between theological, historical, metaphysical, social, political, and cultural formulations in the Middle Ages.[3]

This densely-worded definition, admittedly a difficult read, attempts to remind the reader of the many influences that need to be taken into account with each text. Rather than discuss an event like the *Quem Quaeritis* as a drama, then, Kobialka begins by emphasizing the language that its codifiers used; then he opens up the text to its broader context, revealing the various elements that may have fed into its uses in the monastic rulebook the *Regularis Concordia*. This, in turn, enables Kobialka to introduce the additional element of theological disputes contemporary to the *Quem Quaeritis* – not so much to define its performance as to demonstrate yet another vital element involved in subsequent iterations of what he calls western Medieval representational practice.

A similar process of contextualization, paying close attention to contemporary terminology and usage as well as various historical and cultural forces, has yet to be applied to Byzantine rites now generally regarded as "dramatic" by western scholars.

---

[3] Kobialka, *This is My Body*, 28.

Having already addressed the alleged “dramaticity” of the Divine Liturgy in the first chapter of this study, the final three chapters of this study will turn to a controversial Late Byzantine rite, *Office of the Three Children*. The *Office* bears scrutiny by theatre historians because of its alleged resemblance to a liturgical drama; and it bears a contextual analysis because even in its own day, the *Office* was subject to diverse readings and performance strategies. It can be read, in other words, along Kobialka’s lines – i.e., as a heterogeneous practice emerging from the highly volatile milieu of the Eastern Roman Empire’s last years. Even those who practiced and crafted the *Office* betrayed an awareness of this rite’s volatility; and although it was positioned as a traditional “Sung Office,” the *Office of the Three Children* has been routinely misinterpreted by outsiders, both then and now.

The study of the *Office* will begin with a brief account of the context for the biblical story at the heart of the *Office* as found in the Greek, Septuagint edition of the Old Testament (*Dan*. 3:26-90 (LXX)). The canticles attributed to the Children, the hymnographic tradition of the story and a selection of iconography devoted to the Three Children from the Late Byzantine period – when the *Office* was performed – will be examined to see how they may have contributed to the *Office*’s aural and visual aspects.

To clarify the historical context for the *Office*, chapter 5 will examine contemporary eyewitness accounts of its performance, from both inside and outside the Orthodox community, and explore the complex political and theological milieu in which these eyewitnesses operated. With the musical, visual, and politico-theological contexts surveyed, chapter 6 will offer a detailed analysis of five contrasting versions

of the *Office*, with a discussion of the possible connotations of their representational practices, as well as their disagreements.

Chapter 4: Origins of the *Office*

Daniel and its Context

The biblical verses that form the basis for the *Office* consist mostly of direct quotes from the Septuagint version of the Book of Daniel. The bulk of the material is regarded as either apocryphal or “deutero-canonical” in the Jewish and Catholic traditions, but all agree on the kernel of the story: three friends of the prophet Daniel, who like Daniel had been brought from Judah to Babylon to become members of King Nebuchadnezzar’s court, are thrown into a fiery furnace as punishment for refusing to worship a golden idol. An angel of the Lord descends from Heaven, enters the furnace, and extinguishes the flames. Nebuchadnezzar’s soldiers soon discover Daniel’s friends walking around inside the furnace unharmed, with a fourth figure who looks like “the son of a god,” (i.e., an angel).[1] Nebuchanazzar orders the three out of the furnace, and issues a decree forbidding disrespect for the Jewish faith.

The Septuagint version of this story includes more than sixty additional verses consisting of two hymns, (hence their Orthodox designation as Old Testament canticles), as well as additional narrative passages. The first hymn, “The Prayer of Azariah” (Dan. 3:24-45 (LXX)), combines an appeal for God’s mercy with a confession of a people's sinfulness. The second, "The Song of the Three Children”

[1] Dan. 3:25 (LXX).

(Dan. 3:52-90 (LXX)), occurs after the angel's arrival; this hymn, known in the west as the *Benedicite*, is an exhortation for all of creation to praise the Lord.

First collated and produced during the Hellenistic period (ca. 165 BCE), the Greek version of the Book of Daniel provides the ultimate context for the *Office of the Three Children*.[2] Although commonly known as the "Three Children" (as in the expression, "Children of Israel"), the Book of Daniel simply refers to them by their Hebrew and Chaldean names.[3] The origins of the Book of Daniel as a whole remain the subject of debate, and critics since antiquity have characterized it as an attempt to weave together a series of disparate, competing narratives. The fundamental instability of Daniel's text is reflected in the early debates about the canonicity of certain sections. Although the basic details remain intact in the Jewish and Christian traditions as Dan. 3:1-30, the verses found in the Septuagint (Dan. 3:26-90 (LXX)) were removed from Jewish scripture as early as the Council of Jamnia in 90 CE.[4] And despite the adoption of the *Benedicite* in the west, these verses were later removed from Western editions of the Bible and offered instead as "Apocrypha" or "Additions."[5]

One prevailing theory of the Book of Daniel's origins is that it was a historicist work, evoking King Nebuchadnezzar's reign (ca. 600 BCE) as a means of exploring a later period of Persian domination, with some portions added as late as

[2] For the dating of Daniel, see *The Anchor Bible: Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah; the Additions*, trans. Carey A. Moore (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977), 29. The Septuagint edition gave way by the second century CE to a recension commonly known as the Theodotion. See *The Anchor Bible: The Book of Daniel*, trans. Louis F. Hartman (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978), 76-83 for his discussion of the origins of this recension.
[3] See Hartman, *The Book of Daniel*, 159.
[4] Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, 29.
[5] As Carey Moore puts it, "Jews ultimately chose to omit [Dan. 3:26-90 (LXX)], while the Christians tended to ignore them" (*Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, 27). Moore assumes that Western reception and (restricted) circulation of these verses is universal practice.

the reign of the Hellenistic king Antiochus IV Epiphanius (175-164 BCE), whose reign immediately preceded the book's composition. In this scenario, seventh- and sixth-century BCE Babylon became a canvas upon which to depict the Jews' persecution under later foreign kings, Antiochus IV especially.[6] The kinship between certain verses and other canonical texts, as well as the antiphonal form of the "Hymn of the Three Children," has led some to conclude that portions may have been based on Hellenistic-era Temple or synagogue psalmody.[7]

By the time of Antiochus IV, many Jews had assimilated into Greek-speaking culture, and accommodated themselves to life in a pagan society.[8] Antiochus, however, prompted a massive rebellion by closing all Jewish houses of worship, converting the Temple in Jerusalem to a pagan temple and erecting an idol there.[9] Hence, the Three Children's story seems to address the experience of the Greek-speaking Jewish community during that time.[10]

This context helps to clarify an otherwise difficult passage in Azariah's prayer, where he laments the sins of his people and the destruction of their temples:

> You have passed just sentence in everything that you have brought upon us,
> and upon Jerusalem, the holy city of our fathers;

---

[6] See Hartman, *The Book of Daniel*, 159-160. The presence of both Persian and Greek vocabulary in the canonical narrative argues for a later date, although Hartman seems to be of the opinion that the original story (minus its Greek additions) is probably from the era of Persian domination.

[7] See Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, 26, 41, and 42-44. Because there are no extant Hebrew or Aramaic versions of Dan. 3:26-90 (LXX), Moore cites a study in which these Greek verses, both prose and metric passages, are translated with ease into Biblical Hebrew.

[8] Assimilation remained a common phenomenon well into the Common Era. See Joyce Reynolds and Robert Tannenbaum, *Jews and God-Fearers at Aphrodisias* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Philological Society, 1987), for evidence of a large, Greek-speaking Jewish community in Late Antique Asia Minor.

[9] See Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, 26-33; Hartman, 43-44, discusses relevant texts from Josephus' *Antiquities* as well as I and II Macc.

[10] "The Book of Daniel as a whole may rightly be viewed as a pacifistic manifesto . . . which was composed and widely circulated to urge and encourage the faithful Jews to remain steadfast in the practice of the religion of their fathers . . ." (Hartman, *The Book of Daniel*, 43). That Antiochus' persecution led directly to the Maccabee rebellion doesn't deter Hartman from this point of view.

> For in true justice you have brought about all these things on account of our
> sins.
> For we have sinned and acted lawlessly by deserting you; we have sinned in
> everything . . .
> Right now we have no prince, no prophet, no leader; no burnt offering, no
> sacrifice, no oblation, no incense; no place to make an offering before
> you and find mercy.[11]

Given that the Children are being punished for their piety, Azariah's confession only makes sense if he has assumed the burden of sins committed by his co-religionists. As shall be explored in the next chapter, this theory that the "Prayer of Azariah" was a response to contemporary questions of assimilation into a dominant pagan culture, as well as the loss of houses of worship, would have special resonance during the period when the *Office of the Three Children* was performed.

Apart from the cultural and religious instability that may have given rise to the story of the Three Children, there is evidence of instability at the level of the narrative itself. In one passage, the narrator interrupts the flow of the story to address the story's protagonists, as well as the reader:

> Bless the Lord, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael,
> sing his praise and highly exalt him forever.
> For he has snatched us "from the nether world" . . .
> Bless the God of gods, all you who worship the Lord,
> sing his praise and give thanks,
> for his mercy endures for ever.[12]

Having shifted from a traditional storytelling mode, in which the narrator maintains the pose of bystander while the reader maintains the pose of *voyeur*, the story now thrusts the audience (ancient texts were designed to be read aloud) into an unstable realm in which characters, narrator, and audience share a common space and time, the sort of ephemeral space normally occupied by live performers and their audience. As

[11] Dan. 3:28-29 & 38 (LXX), as found in Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, 54-55.
[12] Dan. 3:88-90 (LXX), translation from Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah*, 68-69.

shall be discussed below, the citation of Dan. 3:88 (LXX) in the course of the *Office* raises the issue of how relationships among live performers, sacred narrative and audience are constructed in a ritual context.

The Three Children in Hymnography

Of the two songs attributed to the Three Children the second, the *Benedicite*, soon occupied the most prominent liturgical position. The "Song of the Three Children" became a central part of the Orthros (or Matins) service, and usually marked the end of services in the church's entry hall (the narthex), and the beginning of services in the nave of the church itself.

One early hymn inspired by the Three Children comes from the sixth-century composer, St. Romanos the Melode. Working with the original biblical text and influenced by sermons from such early Church figures as Hippolytus, Cyril of Alexandria, and (Pseudo-) Chrysostomos, Romanos composed an elaborate *kontakion* in commemoration of the Three Children for their feast day, December 17.[13]

Originally performed after the reading from the Gospels as the sung equivalent of a homily, the *kontakion* was a hymn of up to 30 verses, complete with prologue, choruses, and epilogue, that served primarily a didactic function. In the past, the *kontakion* has been classified as 'proto-dramatic' because Romanos embellishes his Biblical narratives with dialogue and vivid imagery.[14] Romanos,

---

[13] See José Grosdidiers de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes* (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1964), 1.356, and Marjorie Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1970-73), 2.133.

[14] George La Piana tried to position the *kontakion* as a nascent dramatic form (see *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Litteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al Secolo IX, con Rapporti al Teatro Sacro d'Occidente* (Sacred Plays in Byzantine Literature from its Origins to the 9th Century, in Relation to the Western Sacred Theatre) (Grotteferrata: "St.Nilo," 1912), 51, and Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos*, 1.xx-xxii). Carpenter, La Piana's protégé, published her translations of Romanos as full-fledged dramas. De

however, worked within an ancient tradition of composition whose roots date back to the Sumerian genre of the Precedence Disputation or "Dispute Poem" and which had, by Early Byzantine times, given rise to poetic homilies in Syriac like the *memra* and the *soghitha*, genres made popular by composers like (St.) Ephrem the Syrian.[15] Writing as he did in Greek, Romanos would also have been exposed to the Hellenistic rhetor's concept of *ethopoeia* (as discussed in Chapter 2). Given the homily-like structure of his kontakia, and his need to teach as well as comment on the spiritual significance of specific biblical episodes, there is no evidence that Romanos ever intended his works be performed as dramas. The conservative liturgical function of the *kontakion*, however, still provided Romanos with a means of drawing his congregation into the story, both mentally and physically – the *kontakion* also featured short, simple refrains designed for full participation.

In Romanos' *kontakion* on the Three Children, there is additional dialogue created for Nebuchanazzar, the Chaldean governors, as well as the Children. Even the Angel, mute in the original story, exhorts the Children upon its arrival in the furnace:

> But the angel descended from Heaven to those with Azariah
> And aroused them to song, saying
> "Holy children, hear what I say:

Matons, one of Romanos' more recent editors, characterizes it as "une homélie métrique, de caractère souvent narratif ou dramatique (a metrical homily, of an often narrative or dramatic character)" (*Romanos le Mélode*, 1.15).

[15] For a brief history of ancient dispute poems and their legacy in Syrian religious poetry see Robert Murray, "Aramaic and Syriac Dispute-Poems and their Connections," *Studia Aramaica* 4 (1995): 157-187. Murray places the dispute poem in a broader context of competitive games (with a nod to John Huizinga's *Homo Ludens*), and argues for a common, multi-lingual tradition of dispute poetry; he doubts that Ephrem had a direct influence on Romanos, stressing instead a "common tradition" ("Dispute Poems," 184). Compare Murray's study with the earlier treatment in Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 183-189. See also Sebastian P. Brock, "The Dispute between the Cherub and the Thief," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 5.2 (2002), 1-20, http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol5No2/HV5N2Brock.html (accessed December 1, 2002).

I do what was ordered; you do what you were taught
While I rein in the fire, you brace up the tongue;
While I dim the blazing, you sharpen the singing.
Fear nothing, the fire won't trouble you . . . [16]

Romanos apparently inserted the Angel to perform the function of the narrator in Dan. 3:88 (LXX), thus encouraging the congregation to sing the refrain with renewed fervor – a convenient lyrical trope, since it comes late in the *kontakion* when the choir's and congregation's energies may have been flagging.

In keeping with the early Christian tradition of interpreting Jewish scripture as prefigurations of Christ's story, Romanos mingles citations from the Old Testament (tradition says he was a Jewish convert) and the Gospels at will. He even alludes to this Christological interpretation by giving the Childrens' angel an appearance that alternates between divine and human – implying that the figure may be seen as Jesus himself.[17]

The *kontakion* survived for centuries as a hymnographic form; but in spite of its vividness and participatory design (or rather, as some might say, because of these qualities), by the twelfth century urban churches had reduced performances of the *kontakion* from thirty verses to two. By this time, monastic hymnographers had already turned their pens to the composition of a daily cycle of brief odes rooted in the canticles of the Old Testament. Known as the *kanons*, their purpose was not so much to tell a story as to reflect upon its spiritual or Christological meaning.[18] Urban

---

[16] Verse 23; after de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode*, 1.392-394.
[17] Verse 25, after de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode*, 1.396.
[18] See Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 198-216. Wellesz finds that the somber mood of the iconoclastic period, as well as canon nineteen of the Council "In Trullo" of 692, which re-instituted the delivery of a weekly sermon, together spelled the end of the *kontakion* (*Byzantine Music*, 204) Later scholarship has questioned Wellesz' scenario; Alexander Lingas in particular ("Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1996), 141) points out that in later years *kontakia* were "paraliturgical compositions" designed for insertion between the

churches, influenced by monastic hymnography in the wake of the iconoclastic crisis, soon added the *kanons* to their repertoire.[19]

The aesthetic shift involved in the adoption of the monastic *kanons* for the urban liturgical hours was significant; for where the *kontakion* was chiefly a narrative form, the *kanons* were abstract and had a primarily meta-narrative function. Eschewing extended story lines, they focused instead on one point or even one idea in a narrative, so that the *kanons* amounted to a series of footnotes or hyper-text links.

The *kanons* were organized around the canticles of the Old Testament, the canticles associated with the Three Children forming the basis for the seventh and eighth odes. In his liturgical rubrics, the early fifteenth century Archbishop Symeon of Thessaloniki specifies that the eighth ode of the *kanon*, rooted in the "Song of the Three Children," be sung after the final antiphon (verses from the Psalms, sung antiphonally) in the Orthros.[20] Elsewhere, however, the exact placement of the *kanons* varied; they could be sung together or distributed among the various antiphons sung during the Orthros, and even found uses elsewhere.

On the eve of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, there were cycles of *kanons* for most if not all of the days in the liturgical calendar; moreover, cantors and choirs could choose from any number of cycles for each date, since many existed for each of the eight modes (the *Octoechos*) performed each week in Orthodox services. The ideas expressed, in what eventually amounted to thousands of odes

---

liturgical hours, whereas the *kanons*, characterized by a "relatively formal linguistic idiom" ("Sunday Matins," 142), were actually part of the liturgical hours proper. It is significant, in terms of the historiography of sacred drama, that after five or six centuries the *kontakion* was reduced to a handful of verses, while the *kanons*' prominence increased.

[19] See Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 129-169 for an overall summary of monastic influence on urban rites.

[20] See Oliver Strunk, "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9-10 (1955-1956): 192.

based on the Children's story, varied widely; in one of the seventh odes, associated with the "Prayer of Azariah," St. Andrew of Sabas does little more than attribute the Children's salvation to Jesus:

> The fire, Savior, did not burn or harm your Three Children, and the three praised and cried out as with one voice, singing
> "Blessed is the God of our fathers."[21]

And for the corresponding eighth ode, Andrew merely cites a verse or two from the "Song of the Three Children:"

> Ye heavens of the heavens, and ye waters above the heavens,
> bless, praise the Lord.[22]

In its simplest form, then, the odes of the *kanon* demanded little more than a basic knowledge of the story. But other composers used the odes to construct elaborate metaphors, in one instance even comparing the fiery furnace to the womb of the Virgin Mary.[23]

The *kanons* originated in the Palestinian monastic community of St. Sabas, renowned for its defense of sacred images during the Iconoclastic crisis of the eighth and ninth centuries. This, plus the subsequent production of *kanons* in another major center of icon veneration, the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. John the Forerunner of Stoudios,[24] corrects one misconception about monastic forms of worship, but also points towards an important distinction between Byzantine monastic and urban, cathedral rites. Early Byzantine, desert-based monasteries were

---

[21] From Carsten Høeg, *The Hymns of the Hirmologion, Part I: The First Mode and the First Plagal Mode* (Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1952), 91.
[22] See Høeg, *The Hymns of the Hirmologion*, 91.
[23] Canon 1, Ode 7, first authentic mode, as found Høeg, *The Hymns of the Hirmologion*, 25-28.
[24] John the Baptist is known as *Prodromos*, or "Forerunner," in the Greek tradition; the monastery's name derives from its foundation during the mid-fifth century CE by an official named Stoudios. See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3.1960-1961, s.v. "Stoudios Monastery."

sometimes characterized by a refusal to "bellow like oxes" (i.e., sing) at services.[25] But as the monastic mass-production of hymnography from the seventh century onward indicates, attitudes towards music varied widely. The distinction probably lies in urban hymnography's reliance on popular devices like narrative structure – as found in the *kontakion* – versus the monastic preference for abstract thought and spiritual contemplation.[26]

Later developments in Byzantine chant marked an even stronger departure from the narrative aesthetic of the Early Byzantine *kontakion*. The introduction of the *kratema* with its reliance on nonsense syllables (often chanted in sequences like "*te-re-re"* – hence its other name, *teretismos*) can be seen, in the history of hymnography on the Three Children, as a definitive rejection of representational practice.[27] But because of the *kratema*'s inherent entertainment value, and the deliberate blurring of lines between sacred and secular songcraft in Late Byzantium, it is possible that the use of the *kratema* may have added to the perception that the *Office of the Three Children* was conceived as a spectacle.

---

[25] Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 171 & ff., discusses early monastic attitudes towards music. The quote comes from a famous denunciation of music by the fifth century Abbot Pambo (*Byzantine Music*, 172 & n. 2).

[26] But see also Robert F. Taft, *The Byzantine Rite: A Short History* (Collegeville, MI: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 67. Taft characterizes the iconodule's theory of images, and its influence on the development of elaborate decorative programs in Middle Byzantine churches as evidence of "the victory of monastic popular devotion over a more spiritualist and symbolic approach to liturgy." Although the use of painted images can be seen, in one sense, as less abstract and hence more 'realist' or 'popular,' the degree of abstraction inherent in traditional Byzantine iconography, including monastic frescoes discussed in the next section, places such images -- like the *kanons* -- in a position somewhere between the two extremes of abstraction and realism.

[27] See the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, *s.v.* "Teretismata," 3.2025-2026, and Diane Touliatos, "Nonsense Syllables in the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Traditions," *Journal of Musicology* VII (1989): 231-243.

The Three Children: an Iconographical Survey

The *Office*'s visual elements figure prominently in its classification as a western-style liturgical drama. This next section will examine the iconography of the Three Children from the Middle and Late Byzantine period to demonstrate how traditional icons of the biblical episode suggested approaches for visualizing performances of the *Office*. Because Byzantine images have in the past been over-interpreted as visual records of dramatic performances,[28] and because there is no evidence that the *Office* was performed before the late 14th Century, the assumption here will be that the iconographic tradition provided guidelines for conduct of the *Office*, not *vice versa*.[29]

As with other episodes from the Old Testament, the Three Children invited a variety of interpretations throughout the Byzantine Empire's history. From its earliest depictions on sarcophagi and coffins[30] to its later production as frescoes during the Palaeologan era, the artist was able to use the story of the Three Children both as an episode in its own right, and as part of a complex, often metaphorical mode of utterance.

---

[28] See for instance Louis Brehier, "Les Miniatures des 'Homilies' du Moine Jacques et le Theatre Religieux a Byzance," *Monuments et Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* XXIV (1921): 101-128. On the other hand, in the Byzantine tradition frescoes within the sanctuary apse often depict early Church Fathers as co-celebrants, scrolls in hand, chanting the liturgy with living priests.

[29] This may not be a purely sacred, eastern phenomenon; George R. Kernodle has argued that the bulk of stage conventions in the Renaissance theatre can be traced to secular European schools of sculpture and painting; see *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

[30] See for example Edouard Stommel, *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik* (Conributions to the Iconography of Constantinian Sarcophagus Sculpture) (Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1954), fig. 1, where the Three Children occupy the top stratum, opposite a depiction of Jonah and the Whale. See also Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1, *Christ's Incarnation-Childhood-Baptism-Temptation-Transfiguration-Works and Miracles*, trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971), fig. 57, where the Children are positioned to the left of an image of the Three Magi.

When the Three Children became a part of a church's architectural rhetoric, the media of interior sacred spaces invited further variations on their story. One fresco from the eleventh-century Dark Church of Cappadocia[31] depicts an archangel – tradition ascribes the miracle to the Archangel Michael – centered above the Children, arms and wings outstretched. Hovering over their heads, the angel's height and wingspan suggest a parental figure that comforts and defends its charges. That the Children are depicted as beardless youths has a dual significance; on the one hand, their youthfulness can be seen as symbolic of the spiritual innocence of as-yet genderless beings -- the traditional Greek word for children, *pais*, can refer to either sons or daughters.[32] On the other hand, as witnessed by the writings of late eleventh-century Bishop Theopylact of Ohrid (i.e., roughly contemporary with the creation of the Dark Church), their lack of mature male characteristics like beards refers to the tradition that the prophet Daniel and his friends were eunuchs. The Children were defined, then, in recognizable Byzantine terms; and traditions like this, in turn, enabled writers to cite biblical precedent when defending the Medieval traffic in *castrati*.[33] The Children's guardian archangel Michael was genderless as well, and probably for similar reasons.[34]

[31] See Halis Yenipinar and Seracettin Sahin, *Paintings of the Dark Church* (Istanbul: A Turizm Yayinlari, Ltd., 1998), 73.
[32] See *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. "παῖς." The equivalent word in Modern Greek, *παιδί*, is neuter.
[33] See "Regendering Legendary Narratives," in Kathryn M. Ringrose, *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), as reviewed by Colin Wells in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2:12 (2004), http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/.
[34] Cyril Mango once observed, "Whenever angels and archangels make themselves manifest in the Lives of saints and other edifying texts they do so in the guise of Eunuchs or imperial *cubicularii* . . ." ("St. Michael and Attis," *Δελτίον Χριστιανκής Ἀρχαεολογικής Ἑταιρείας* 12 (1984): 44 and. n. 8). A fuller exposition of eunuchs among the heavenly host can be found in Cyril Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), 151-155.

Although the biblical furnace was described as a large, enclosed space,[35] at the Dark Church the furnace's dimensions are significantly altered; it now appears as a square, thigh-high brick balustrade, with smoke and fire pouring out from hearths positioned under each of the Children. Here again, however, the imagery draws from contemporary Byzantine practice: public executions at the hippodrome in Constantinople used an open-air pyre without any stakes, to ensure spectators a good view of the victim's immolation "in the round," as it were.[36] But the principle of visual access to the victim in this case places a greater emphasis on the Children's salvation. Not coincidentally, the verticality created by the angel's hovering presence directs the gaze of the viewer to a fresco above the Children, which in the Dark Church is an image of the Resurrection. The ensemble invites the viewer to think symbolically of the two events, and to understand the Children's ordeal and triumph as prefiguring Christ's. In addition, because the archangel and Jesus have similar positions and proportions, it is possible to identify Jesus with the archangel, bringing to mind Nebuchadnezzar's vision of a "son of a god" in the furnace, easily re-interpreted (as it was in Jerome's Vulgate Bible) as a reference to Jesus.[37]

The Dark Church frescoes place the Children in the aisle associated traditionally with the *diaconicon*, the chamber to the right of the sanctuary. But other iconographic schemes establish a more direct relationship between the Children and

---

[35] In an illumination of a monastic psalter (book of hymns), the Children are depicted realistically inside a kiln-like structure, complete with Nebuchanazzar and guards standing by in disbelief: see Paul Huber, *Athos: Leben, Glaube, Kunst* (Athos: Life, Faith, Art) (Zurich: Atlantis, 1989), 172, fig. 55.
[36] Niketas Choniates' chonicle entry for 1185 includes an especially grisly description of an execution; the victim jumped out of the flames repeatedly before being thrown in for good (see *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniate*s, trans. Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1984), 172).
[37] As noted in Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, vol. 2, *Iconographie de la Bible; Ancien Testament* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956; Reprint, Leichtenstein: 1979), 398.

the Divine Liturgy. In Mistras, a Crusader outpost that eventually became a provincial capitol in Late Byzantine times, the Children are featured in the sanctuary of the central church (or *katholikon*) for a monastery dedicated to the Virgin known as Peribleptos ("Seen all around"). Dated approximately to the fourteenth century (figs. 10 & 11), the Three Children are depicted inside the sanctuary, above the archway that leads from the sanctuary to the *diaconicon*. In his rendering, Gabriel Millet includes the stone-cropped mountains that frame the composition, with the angel adopting much the same parental pose as at the Dark Church.[38]

The image at Peribleptos occupies the second tier in a multi-tiered sanctuary composition: bishops flank the archway at floor level, and are presented as co-celebrants with liturgical scrolls opened to key passages in the Liturgy; above the archway are the Children. The Communion of the Apostles (the eternal, heavenly version of the "Mystical Supper") is depicted above the Children, with Jesus offering wine to his disciples. In the barrel vault overhead, crowning the lower ranks of bishops, Old Testament episodes and scenes from the Heavenly Communion, is the Ascension of Christ (Fig. 12).[39]

Because the Communion of the Apostles represents the heavenly prototype of the Last Supper, the Three Children are vertically aligned, in both image and thought,

---

[38] See Gabriel Millet, *Monuments Byzantins de Mistra* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910) Vol. 2, Plate 111.
[39] A detailed scheme for this part of the sanctuary is in Suzy DuFrenne, *Les Programmes Iconographiques des Eglises Byantines de Mistra* (Iconographic Programs of the Byzantine churches in Mystras) (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1970), Pl. 29. DuFrenne dates the church to the mid-14th century (p. 13), based on its similarity to other churches built in the same period in Mistras. Dufrenne also posits (p., 28) that the inclusion of old-testament episodes is emblematic of artists from the Late Byzantine period who 'returned' to early Christian sources for their inspiration; but the ubiquity of the Children during various periods complicates this theory.

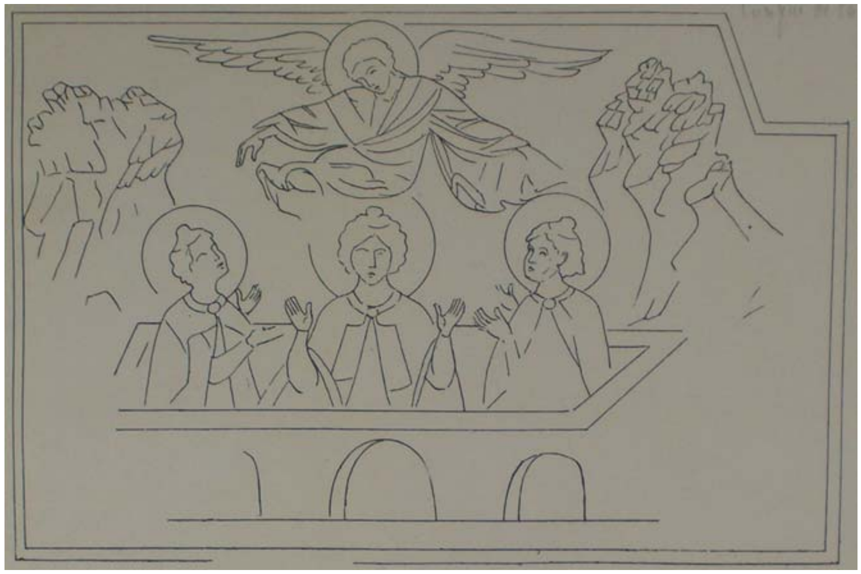


Figure 10. Sketch of the Three Children from the sanctuary of the *katholikon* of Peribleptos monastery, Mistras.
From Millet, *Monuments Byzantins de Mistra*, vol. 2, pl. 111.



Figure 11. Fresco of the Three Children, as restored, Peribleptos monastery, Mistras.
Photograph by the author.



Figure 12. South sanctuary wall of the *katholikon* in Peribleptos monastery, Mistras, featuring (from bottom to top): saint-as-co-celebrant (head with halo); the Three Children; the Communion of the Apostles.
Photo by the author.

with mystical events beyond human sight.[40] This is in addition to their already being associated, by virtue of their position in the sanctuary, with the Eucharist.

In yet another re-vision of the episode, an early fourteenth-century fresco from the north transept of the *katholikon* of Vatopedi monastery at Mount Athos de-emphasizes the furnace even further, and portrays the Children with an enhanced dynamism. Presented as individuals, each of the Children are in distinctly-colored oriental costume, their legs – clearly visible – bent at the knee, as if in motion, and their hands upraised in prayer. Ananiah and Mishael, often depicted frontally, have turned their bodies sideways, to either side of Azariah; both gaze upward to the angel, but with their faces turned slightly toward the viewer.[41] Here, the fresco is located in the North Choir (transept), grouped with images from the life of the Virgin Mary, who is prefigured mystically by their martyrdom.[42]

At Vatopedi, the wall of the furnace is barely calf-high, virtually eliminating the barrier between viewer and image and enhancing the image's fresh, performative aspect. The archangel's facial expression, like those of the children, is more detailed -- making more explicit their identification as eunuchs – and it wears the white robe

---

[40] Christopher Walter contrasts the Last Supper's *historia*, its temporal, narrative connotation, with the Communion of the Apostle's *theoria*, or liturgical meaning; see his *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London: Variorum Publications Ltd., 1982), 185. Walter finds that although the Last Supper may have been an iconographic subject from early times, iconography of the Communion of the Apostles is not attested before Nicholas Mesarites' description of the restored church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, *circa* 1200 (*Art and Ritual*, 186-187, and n. 110). Gerstel (*Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, 56-59) points out that the image of the Communion represents the priests' experience because they receive the host directly (i.e., without a spoon) and inside the sanctuary. The possible ideological connotations of this episode, relating to the eleventh-century "azyme" controversy, are also worth consideration (Gerstel, *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries*, 58-59, & nn).

[41] See Ioakim Papaggelos, ed.,*The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition-History-Art* (Mount Athos, 1998), 1.252.

[42] See Papaggelos, *Vatopaidi*, 1.236 for a picture of the North Choir with the Children in the first rank and episodes of Mary above. The Choir is so called because in the monastic tradition, the right and left choirs occupy semi-circular apses opposite each other in the nave. For commentary on the significance of the Children's placement see Papaggelos, *Vatopaidi*, 1.253.

with purple cloth hung over one shoulder. Because the purple cloth blends in with the purple background of the fresco, and the furnace's barrier is clearly visible behind the children, it is not clear whether the angel is meant to be inside the furnace. This detail, when considered with rubrics for the *Office of the Three Children*, creates a strong association between this fresco and the image created by a live performance of the *Office*.

It is not the purpose of this series of images to imply a narrative of development in the Children's iconography; a broader survey would demonstrate that pictoral (and sculptural) realism was used at various times, and in various media, throughout Byzantium's history. The two relatively consistent elements are the use of Byzantine pyres in depictions of the furnace, and the Childrens' implied status as court eunuchs – both of them 'realistic' touches. But the fact that the angel hovers above the Children rather than walking among them speaks to a more abstract interpretation of the episode.

The iconography surveyed here suggests a range of possible representational strategies for performances of the *Office of the Three Children*, dictated by the image's status as a *typos* or "model" of a divine prototype. Because the Children's story admitted a variety of possible interpretations their image roams around the church interior, stopping sometimes inside the sanctuary and sometimes in the nave, aligned with episodes as various as Jesus' life and ministry, the earthly and heavenly liturgy, Mary's womb, as well as the salvation of mankind.

This habit of interpreting the Children's story at multiple levels harmonizes with the constantly shifting, abstract interpretations of the Children's canticles, as

expressed in the hymnographic genre of the *kanon*. The visual and interpretive options presented here, coupled with the development of more elaborate melismatic chants like the *kratema* make it possible to see performances of the *Office* as taking place in an increasingly abstract field of musical and visual practice, distinct from the scenic realism that had come into vogue in the Medieval west.

Chapter 5: The *Office*'s Historical Context

Eyewitness Accounts

Although its exact beginnings remain unclear, eyewitness accounts confirm that the *Office of the Three Children* was performed from at least the late fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century.[1] In these accounts, interpretations of the *Office* vary and seem to hinge on a number of factors -- not least among them being whether one is an Orthodox Christian. These varied interpretations, in turn, will emphasize the need for chapter 6's close reading of the *Office*'s rubrics, in order to understand how and why these witnesses disagree.

Ignatius of Smolensk

The earliest description comes from the cleric Ignatius of Smolensk, a member of the entourage of Moscow's Metropolitan Pimen, who arrived in Constantinople in late June 1389 and remained in the city for some time thereafter. Pimen and Ignatius had traveled there because there was an ongoing dispute about the legitimacy of Pimen's appointment as the head of the church of "Great Russia." But Pimen passed away shortly after arriving near Constantinople; and a rival, Cyprian,

[1] But see Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 353 and n. 15. Following Dmitrievskiĭ's lead (in "O Agios Fournos," *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik* 24 (1923-1926), 139-140), Velimirović believed an 11th century *typikon*'s reference to an ἅγιος φουρνός, or "holy furnace" in the *skeuphylakion* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople indicated the *Office* was performed much earlier. However, the word in both the Septuagint and the *Office* is *κάμινος*, "kiln," whereas in Greece to this day, the word φουρνός indicates an oven for cooking or baking. In this case, the *typikon* probably refers to an oven used for preparation of the Eucharistic bread.

was (re-) installed as Metropolitan in his place and sent to Moscow.[2] Ignatius probably stayed on in Constantinople because his master's rival now ran his church; in his log for December 1389 he includes the first extant reference to performances of the *Office*:

> On the Sunday before Christmas I saw how the "Furnace of the Three Children" is performed in St. Sophia. It was after the patriarch had reverently celebrated the holy liturgy in all hierarchichal dignity.[3]

If Ignatius' entry is correct the timing of the performance is unusual, because the rubrics for all extant versions of the *Office* say it was performed after Orthros and hence before, not after the Divine Liturgy.

Unfortunately this is as much as Ignatius cares to say about the performance; by contrast, because he happened to be in Constantinople in Spring 1390 and witnessed the palace coup led by John VII Palaeologos, Ignatius records in detail the violence that ensued, with partisans forcing the populace at sword-point in the dead of night to perform acclamations to John in the streets. Ignatius also witnessed the coronation of Manuel II in February 1390, the record of which proved to be of great value for his later Russian readership.[4]

Given his keen interest in other less common events and customs, it would appear that Ignatius was already familiar with the *Office*, although exactly how remains a puzzle. Either word of the *Office* had reached Ignatius through other pilgrims, or some form of the *Office* had already become part of the liturgy in

---

[2] See George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984), 388-394.
[3] "The Journey of Ignatius of Smolensk," in Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 100. See also Majeska's commentary, *Russian Travelers*, 233-234.
[4] For Ignatius' description of these events, beginning with the uprising, see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 100- 113. On the importance of Ignatius' account of Manuel II's coronation, see *Russian Travelers,* 51-52.

Moscow by the late fourteenth century. Whatever the reason, it is enough to note that although Ignatius witnessed a performance of the *Office* he saw nothing remarkable or unusual in its liturgical practice apart from its performance time.[5]

Bertrandon de la Broquière

Our second eyewitness is Bertrandon de la Broquière, a member of the court of Duke Philip the Good of Burgundy. Traveling from Jerusalem on horseback, La Broquière arrived in Constantinople in the early winter of 1432 having managed the feat of traveling through Turkish-controlled territory disguised as a "Saracen." Although he initially presents himself to the reader as an adventurer, financial records from the Burgundian court indicate that he had been sent by Duke Phillip to spy on the Turks and Byzantines.[6]

Among his obligatory excursions to see the churches and holy relics of Constantinople, la Broquière managed to attend services at least once in Hagia Sophia:

> I went one day to see the patriarch celebrate services in their manner; there were the Emperor, his mother, his wife (who was a beautiful woman), daughter of the Emperor of Trapezond, and his son who was despot of Morea. I watched all day to see how they do and produce the mystery of the three children that Nebuchanazzar threw into the furnace.[7]

---

[5] For an account of the later developments of the Russian incarnation of the *Office*, see Marina Swoboda, ""The Furnace Play" and the development of Liturgical Drama in Russia," *The Russian Review* 61:2 (2002): 220-234, and Appendix 6 of the present study.

[6] See Bertrandon de la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris: Leroux, 1897; Reprint, Westmead UK: Gregg International Publishers Ltd., 1971), xvii. Schefer also gives an account of la Broquière's career both before and after this undercover operation (see la Broquière, *Voyage*, xiv-xxxiii).

[7] "Je veiz un jour ledit patriarche faire le service à leur maniere auquel estoient l'Empereur, sa mere, sa femme qui estoit une tresbelle dame, fille de l'empereur de Trapezonde, et son frere qui estoit dispot de la Mourée. Je attendi tout le jour pour veoir leur maniere de faire, et firent un mistere de trios enfans que Nabuchodonosor fist mettre en la fournaise" (la Broquière, *Voyage*, 154-155). Schefer (*Voyage*, 156, n. 1) thinks the *Office* might have been brought to Constantiople by Empress Anne of Savoy, wife of Andronicus III Paleologos (1328-1341). George Klawitter describes a monastic tableau

The term used here – '*mystère*' -- indicates that la Broquière thought the performance of the *Office* he witnessed in December of 1432, some forty-odd years after the Russian traveler Ignatius, looked similar to the religious plays performed in France. As with Ignatius, la Broquière says nothing further about the *Office*; in this case, however, his neglect is of a piece with his writing habits. His first modern editor, Legrand d'Aussy, complained that for all his intelligence and good judgment, the Burgundian spy writes "*avec negligence et abandon*," often forgetting his place in the narrative.[8] Such is the case here; no sooner does la Broquière promise his readers a detailed description of the *Office of the Three Children*, than he forgets all about it. Lest his reader get the impression that la Broquière had stayed in Hagia Sophia all day, he confides what really occupied his mind that day:

> . . . I went the whole day without drinking or eating until Vespers, quite late, to see the Empress, who was dining in a house nearby (because I thought she looked so fine in church), to see her again, and how she mounts onto a horse.[9]

In other words, la Broquière stayed not because the *Office* was performed late, but because he had taken a fancy to the Empress, and was willing to starve himself for hours just to see her again. In time she re-emerges, and so instead of a solemn *asmatikē akoloutheia*, the reader is treated to a detailed description of how a

---

of the seventh or eighth century in which three young men sit silently while the *Benedicite* is sung ("Dramatic Elements in Early Monastic Induction Ceremonies," in *Drama in the Middle Ages*, Clifford Davidson and John H. Stroupe, eds. New York: AMS Press, 1991), 47-48; for the original language of the rite see J.-B. Thibaut, *L'Ancienne Liturgie Gallicane* (The Ancient Gallican Liturgy) (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1929), 35). This Gallican rite, however, was later suppressed and there is nothing to connect it with developments some five or six centuries later in Constantinople.

[8] See Bertrandon de la Broquière, "Voyage d'Outremer et Retour de Jérusalem en France par la voie de terre, pendant le cours des années 1432 et 1433 (Journey Overseas and Return from Jerusalem, to France by land, during the years 1432-1433)," ed. Legrand d'Aussy, *Mémoires de l'institut national des sciences et arts: Sciences morales et politiques* (Paris, [1804]): 467.

[9] "Et fus tout le jour sans boire et sans mengier jusques au vespre, bien tard, pour veoir l'Emperix, laquelle avoit disné en ung hostel prez de là pour ce quelle m'avoit samblé si belle à l'eglise, pour la veoir dehors, et la maniere comment elle aloit à cheval . . ." (la Broquière, *Voyage,* 156; the parentheses in the translation are, of course, mine).

Byzantine empress mounts (in the man's style, apparently) for her ride back to the palace.

La Broquière's short attention span aside, he often displays the naiveté of a tourist: he discreetly notes the presence of "three of those men the Turks entrust with their wives,"[10] i.e., eunuchs, in the Empress' entourage, implying the Paleologan court had adopted Turkish custom. La Broquière is unaware that eunuchs and *castrati* had played an important role in the Roman and Byzantine court, as well as Church ritual. Later, while watching a mock-joust at an imperial wedding feast, he also notes that Byzantine musicians use battle trumpets, *nacaires*, "like the Turks do,"[11] again implying that the court plays Turkish-style music; he is unaware that instruments like this had been used since antiquity, and were as common in Rome as they were in the East. He even commits the *faux-pas* of mistaking the famous mounted statue of Justinian the Great, perched atop a column in front of Hagia Sophia, for Emperor Constantine.[12] These kinds of naïve observations undermine la Broquière's characterization of the *Office* as a "mystery play," because he often didn't understand or bother to inquire about what was right in front of him.

La Broquière's secret mission took place at a time when efforts to re-unify the Orthodox and Catholic Churches under Papal leadership had intensified; but he suspected (perhaps correctly) that most Orthodox Christians were not interested in

---

[10] "[T]rois de ces homees a qui les Turcs confient la garde de laurs femmes" (la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 156).

[11] "Et alors commencerent à huer et à jouer de leurs instrumens qui sont nacquaires comme ceulx des Turcz" (la Broquière, *Voyage*, 166-167). Mock-contests like these had been part of court wedding parties for centuries but la Broquière, acquainted with rougher Western practice, is shocked at the lack of armour or the slightest element of bodily risk.

[12] La Broquière, *Voyage*, 159 & n.1. Although la Broquière was not the only traveler to make this mistake, Russian travelers like Ignatius had no trouble identifying the emperor; see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 237-240.

submitting to papal authority, and that the Byzantine Emperor sought re-unification primarily for political reasons. This attitude towards the East opens up the possibility that La Broquière's interpretation of the *Office* may have been influenced by his political convictions.[13] Given his naiveté and mixed motives, it is still significant that la Broquière chose to include the *Office* in a familiar field of Western representational practices, even as he 'orientalized' other practices alien to his rather limited experience.

Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica

Because Ignatius and la Broquière disagree on the basic question of whether the *Office* was a ritual or a drama it falls upon a third, Orthodox witness – and an author of the earliest extant version – to explain how it was performed in more detail. Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica during the early fifteenth century (1416/17 – 1429), produced a *typikon* prescribing the conduct of Orthodox ritual in the Thessalonian cathedral of Hagia Sophia, including highly detailed instructions for performance of the *Office*.[14]

The work including Symeon's commentary on the *Office of the Three Children* – the *Dialogue in Christ* – is primarily a catalog of heresies throughout Christianity's history, with a special emphasis on the more recent impieties of the

[13] For la Broquière's comments on Orthodoxy and re-unification see la Broquière, *Le Voyage d'Outremer*, 140.
[14] For a brief biographical sketch of Archbishop Symeon see David Balfour, "Saint Symeon of Thessalonike as a Historical Personality," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28:1 (1983): 55-72. On the date Symeon first assumed his archipiscopate, based on internal evidence from his own papers see Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)* (Vienna: Osterreichsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979), 131-137.

Latins.[15] Chapter 23 of the *Dialogue*, "That it is Necessary to Portray Divine Matters Piously and Righteously, and In Accordance With Tradition," devotes itself primarily to the Catholic habit of "innovation," *kainotomia*, in representational practice.[16] Catholic innovation, in Symeon's scenario, manifests itself in three distinct ways: in permitting non-iconic representations of divinity, especially plays; in creating and portraying the realm of Purgatory; and in adding the word *filioque* to the confession of the faith (which portrays the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father "and the Son"). Here, as in the earlier Medieval period addressed by Kobialka's study, the dispute centers on how one visualized divinity and (more importantly) produced its visible aspects. In Symeon's view, it wasn't just that the Catholics misrepresented the nature of the Trinity or the afterlife; it was that they had also sanctioned new technologies through which their flawed dogma was made visible to the laity.

Symeon begins Chapter 23 with a brief reminder of what Orthodoxy considered to be the traditional technology for realizing the visibility of the sacred, i.e., through the painted image or icon. His repeated use of the word 'icon' (*eikon)* and its correlatives, particularly the verb for making icons, 'to iconize,' (*eikonizein*), reflect Symeon's understanding that the only non-written means to provide visual access to divinity is through images that have been valorized through traditional practice. In an echo of the iconodules of an earlier age, he notes that images communicate 'as if by other [kinds of] writing' (*hōs grammasin allois*), a reminder

[15] The work is better known in the West as the "Dialogue Against All Heresies," by virtue of its Latin translation. See Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica, "Symeonis Dialogus Contra Omnes Haereses," in *Patrologia Graeca* 155.33-174.

[16] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.112-123. A translation of extended passages can be found in Appendix 6.

that in the Orthodox tradition the written word and the painted figure are equivalent.[17] And because both media serve to make the divine visible, Symeon stresses the need for clergy to control their production. The equivalence between word and image, in turn, enables Symeon to group three seemingly unrelated topics -- religious theatre, Purgatory, and the confession of faith -- into one Chapter.

Symeon's first objection has to do with the vernacular practice, sanctioned by the Catholic Church, of embellishing icons with what he regards as spurious materials:

> … they often portray holy images contrary to tradition in another way; and they dress them up with human hair and clothes, instead of using the clothing and hairstyles in icons, they dress them up with human hair and garments – not the image of hair and garments, but they are the hair and garments of some person, and not the *icon* and model (*typos*) of their prototypes.[18]

One of the reasons Symeon objects to hair and clothing is that such artificial touches are "contrary to tradition," neither practiced nor approved by the Church Fathers. But what concerns him even more is the use of a *specific* person's hair and clothing, because they are *things*, objects from the natural world, as opposed to images of things. Symeon believes such objects, because of their physicality, cannot function as proper models (*typoi*) of divine prototypes.

Symeon's chief concern is that physical objects might block or otherwise obscure the laity's access to divinity – an access that icons, through their careful construction, makes possible. Icons do not provide access to divinity through their realistic depiction but through their invocation of divine prototypes – an enterprise that, in the Orthodox tradition, is incompatible with pictorial realism. Hence

[17] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.112.B.5-13.
[18] *Patrologia Graeca*., 155.112.B.13-C.4.

Symeon's belief that the use of spurious visual/tactile stimuli distracts the laity from the kinds of prayer and communion with the divine that Symeon regards as proper. The unspoken message here is that accommodating the wishes of uneducated laypersons, through permitting them to decorate an already worthy icon, constitutes idolatry and may betray the very people the practice is intended to serve.[19]

Once this heretical habit has been delineated, Symeon describes the even more abhorrent practice of representing divine matters using human beings "as if in a drama" (*hōs en dramati*):

> For contrary to the canons, they put men at crossroads and on platforms [lit., "*plataion*"], as if they were representing iconically things pertaining to the Annuciation of the Virgin and Mother of God, and the crucifixion of the Savior, etc. And one represents the Virgin, and they call that man Mary; another is called the angel, …[20]

Introduced as it is after his discussion of hairy, dressed-up icons, Symeon regards dramatic depictions of divinity as even worse. As for having men play women, Symeon's implicit attitude can be discerned in his explanation of why Latins have to glue a fake beard onto the man playing the Almighty:

> . . . since the Latins don't hold shaving them to be effeminate and contrary to natural law they put on fake ones, hence showing they contrive things as they see fit. For if the prophets saw that God has a beard, iconically speaking, we too have beards in honor of nature and according to what God intended.[21]

In an amusing reversal of the usual trope of 'orientalization' Symeon depicts Latin males as effeminate, intensifying the insult to Western dignity by implying that the man playing the Heavenly Father, being beardless, probably wasn't a real man to

---

[19] Symeon cites the Sixth Ecumenical Council (in which the Catholic Church was a sometime participant), and concludes that the Council never intended the laity to present divine images without clerical guidance (*Patrologia Graeca*, 155.112.C.6-9).
[20] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.112.C.11-D.3, emphasis mine.
[21] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.112.D.3-8.

begin with. Greek culture had distinguished men since antiquity by the growth of their beards, a marker that (as Symeon indicates) had acquired Christian connotations as well. For Symeon clean chins were markers of only two kinds of adults: women and eunuchs. The Latin male's habit of looking like a woman or *castrato* was especially perverse for Catholic monks and clergy, who also performed in these plays (see below), because they had supposedly renounced the care of their bodies to become men of the cloth.[22]

The heretical use of human hair on sacred icons, now complemented by the decadent use of human hair on androgynous, clean-shaven men masquerading as sacred figures, lays bare the perversity of Latin sacred representational practice. But Symeon's critique addresses the dogmatic as well as the cultural level: as a preamble to his critique of the *filioque* heresy, he critiques the Latin's manner of representing the Holy Spirit in performance:

> . . . they portray the Ancient of Days holding onto a winged dove in place of the Holy Spirit, thereby showing that they follow their own devices. For if they believe the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, why don't they portray the Son sitting together with the Ancient of Days, so that both dispatch the dove?[23]

Symeon points out that the Latins don't even know how to portray their own heresy properly on-stage. To create a false creed is one thing; failing to reinforce that fallacy through other false practices like plays speaks to a fundamental incoherence in Catholicism's approach to sacred matters. Symeon is aware of the didactic and propagandistic function of these *sacre rappresentazioni*, and shows how they have backfired against their own practitioners.

[22] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.112.D.12-14.
[23] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.112.D.14 – 113.A.5.

Representing divinity through human beings on a public stage is foreign to Symeon's thinking; equally foreign is the use of special effects, intended to heighten the 'realism' of the action. Symeon describes how Latins make use of the crude apparatus of animals' blood and guts in their Passion Plays, to create the illusion of the crucified Christ.[24] Taking Symeon at his word, these plays consist of using one beast's blood, stuck into another beast's bladder, to provide fake blood for a fake (and, of course, androgynous) Christ. All Symeon needed to do was compare this debased human form of representation with the implicitly superior form of the sacred icon:

> What, then, is that man being crucified? And what is the blood? Real, or an icon? And if it's an icon, how on earth could it be a man and blood?[25] For an icon is not a man. But if they are really man and blood, then it's not an icon. So then, what is that man? And what is that blood? And whose is it supposed to be, the Savior's? Or is it shared? Bless me, how bizarre![26]

The repetition of the term 'icon' here drives home the absurdity of the Latin enterprise; no human being, and certainly no animal's blood, can serve the icon's function, by virtue of their physicality. As an Italian translator of Symeon's *Dialogue* points out, this kind of representation places such a heavy emphasis on Jesus' physical form that it effectively wipes out the consensus painstakingly established through numerous church councils, stressing Jesus' dual nature as both man and God.[27]

---

[24] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.113.A.12-14. It is unclear whether Symeon speaks as an eyewitness or through second-hand knowledge. And there is as yet no study of daily life among the Italians of Constantinople or Thessalonica, which might confirm whether they performed their Annunciation and Passion plays in Byzantine-controlled territory.

[25] There is an ellipsis; the sentence reads more literally, "And if it's an icon, how does a man and blood do [as an icon]?"

[26] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.113.B.1–7.

[27] See Anna Pontani, "Firenze nella Fonti Greche del Concilio (Florence in Greek sources for the Council)" in *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439* (Florence and the Council of 1439), ed. Paolo Viti

It is in this context of lambasting Catholics for the use of public stages, androgynous actors and crude props instead of sacred icons that Symeon discusses his conduct of the *Office of the Three Children*; for it is only with the *Office* that Symeon appears to be on shaky theological ground:

> And if they should censure us for the furnace of the three children, yet shall they not rejoice completely. For we do not light up a furnace, but candles for lights, and we offer incense to God as is customary, and we portray an image of [lit., "iconize"] an angel, we do not send down a man. And we offer only singing children, as pure as those Three Children, to sing the verses from their canticle according to tradition.[28]

The initial focus on how a physical site called a "furnace" is represented in the nave of an Orthodox church indicates that Symeon is particularly concerned about the perception that he has created a stage area for the *Office*. So he makes a point of listing the more mundane details of traditional Orthodox ritual – the use of liturgical lamps and the purification of the area with incense, signifying the presence of the Holy Spirit – to emphasize what he regards as its proper liturgical setting. Symeon argues that if the furnace were intended as a set for a play, he would have created a realistic kiln complete with flames rising up to the skies as the biblical story calls for.

Symeon's refusal to adopt western scenic conventions extends to his use of an icon instead of a human being to depict the angel. The presentation of the "furnace" as a sacred, liturgically-constructed performance area instead of a stage, the use of an icon instead of an actor, along with the use of choirboys to sing odes from the canons in the usual, liturgical fashion – they do not, Symeon implies, deliver lines like actors

---

(Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994), 792. Pontani appends her translation of selections from Symeon's *Dialogue* on pp. 806-812.

[28] *Patrologia Graeca,* 155 113.D.6-13.

in a play – are cited to support Symeon's contention that the *Office* is a liturgical performance.

In accordance with the Byzantine tradition of liturgical exegesis, Symeon goes on to describe the ways in which each class of performer in the *Office* symbolizes its divine prototype:

> And all these children sealed [in Christ] and holy, typify those Children. And since all are consecrated, each typifies the one of his own rank. And while the first hierarch typifies the Lord, the bishops typify the first of the apostles, since they also possess their grace, and the priests the seventy; and the deacons the Levites; and the other sub-deacons the rank of the prophets.[29]

Symeon insists that the performers in the *Office* are sanctioned liturgical performers who, through their training and careful mode of self-presentation, model on behalf of the divine participants in the eternal, heavenly liturgy. By identifying what he regards as the iconic aspects of the *Office*'s performance, and by delineating the divine figures the *Office*'s celebrants typify, Symeon lays out both the specific modes through which divinity is made visible and audible to his congregation, as well as how he intends this liturgical performance to be interpreted.

Perhaps because he dwells on the significance, or rather the signification of liturgical celebrants, Symeon ends his treatment of Latin sacred plays by addressing the issue of clerical actors. Although the presence of clergy as actors may justify representations of biblical episodes in Catholic eyes, to Symeon their participation only makes things worse. Given the condemnations of clerical acting from the earliest ecumenical councils onward, Symeon needs only note that when it comes to modeling on behalf of divinity, the clergy already know their lines, cues and blocking:

[29] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.113.D-14 – 116.A.6.

> They model what is needed in these: in baptizing, in conducting services, in washing each other's feet, as well as the rest that the Savior told us, that is given to priests and hierarchs to do. And the singers too, who are given authority to read, do so in reading and singing.[30]

Symeon reminds Catholic celebrants that they already model through carefully prescribed modes of ritual conduct, as established by Christ himself; theatrical modes of representation were specifically banned.

In contrast to the practice of Latin plays, Symeon offers a familiar model for Christian *mimesis*, albeit one that does not involve acting:

> Nobody is capable of playing the Virgin birth-giver of God (*Theotokos*) whether with respect to her chastity, or the reception of the Holy Spirit into her flesh and the bearing of the Lord, as she alone did this, and by herself; but he who imitates her example, living chastely and seeking to live as a celibate, is also worthy of the reception of grace, as much as can be given. Moreover, it ought to be desired by everyone to play her in these agreed ways.[31]

Here, Symeon openly embraces verbs associated with imitation -- *mimesthai*, 'to imitate,' and *ekmimesthai*, 'to play' – but with the twist that imitation now encompasses a psychological practice, i.e., a life of chastity and spiritual purity. Symeon agreed with his Latin counterparts on the virtues of imitation, but only when it involved adopting the spiritual examples of Jesus and Mary.

Summary: On Braids and Spirals

In Schechner and Turner's famous model depicting a cyclical, mutually reinforcing relationship between social and stage drama, it is assumed that exterior modes of behavior, spurred on by both explicit and implicit social processes, take on an aspect of performance or theatricality. But as Turner himself noted toward the end

---

[30] *Patrologia Graeca*, 155.116.B.14 – C.5. The term translated here as "singer," *hymnodos*, also connotes "hymnographer" – along the lines of chanter/composers like Ioannes Koukouzeles.
[31] *Patrologia Graeca,* 155.115.C.12-D.5.

of his life, this model was constructed as an analogy through which one could structure and "read" the experiences of daily life, and even this analogical reading of the model is fluid: the elegant figure eight, cocked to one side, was never intended to be static or final:

> The interrelation of social drama to stage drama is not in an endless, cyclical, repetitive pattern; it is a spiraling one. The spiraling process is responsive to inventions and the changes in the mode of production in the given society . . . The cosmology has always been destablilized, and society has always had to make efforts, through both social dramas and esthetic dramas, to restabilize and actually *produce* cosmos.[32]

What distinguishes Byzantium in this scenario is that the "invention" that forced the cultural spiral out of Turner and Schechner's model was a conservative religious movement that, true to its roots, regarded theatre and drama as a historically and culturally determined practice – not as a universal cultural value toward which all societies must one day develop.[33] It was the theatre itself that constituted the social breach, the source of destabilization that needed to be either eliminated or re-integrated through the creation of a new performance aesthetic.

As with Turner and Schechner, it was acceptable in Byzantine discursive practice to use the language of theatre and drama as analogies or metaphors.[34] But where Schechner and Turner seem to posit a reciprocal relationship between ritual and theatre as modes of performance, the theatre was rejected out of hand by Orthodoxy, and its language invoked primarily as a mode of invective. Negotiations

---

[32] Victor Turner, "Are there Universals in Performance?" in *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*, Richard Schechner and Willa Appel eds. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 17-18, emphasis in the original.
[33] The phrase "mode of production" raises the question of whether Turner saw social development in economic, almost Darwinian terms, so that ritual performance naturally gave birth to the theatrical arts.
[34] Turner ("Universals," 13-15) makes clear that he and his critics (Clifford Geertz most notably) understood the value of drawing on concepts from the Humanities to help explain the mechanisms by which societies function and maintain themselves.

within the Orthodox Church about proper modes of ritual performance were ongoing, well into Symeon's time and beyond; but as Symeon amply demonstrates the theatre remained an anti-type, a mode of performance to be avoided.

As shall be seen in the last chapter, Symeon's own version of the *Office* tends to undermine his case; the 'iconic' nature of traditional Church services may have been compromised by the ways in which the Children's story was commemorated in the *Office*. Symeon knew that certain elements of the performance had been perceived as theatrical, his liturgical intent notwithstanding; this is precisely what prompted Symeon's detailed but admittedly defensive response. There is a difference between stating the *Office* is not a play, and trying to persuade somebody that it isn't one. That Symeon had to defend the *Office* at all – and he did not feel obliged to defend any other Orthodox rite – indicates that it was unique and problematical, even in his eyes.

A Politico-Theological Context for the Office

From a western point of view Symeon's critique of sacred drama can seem petty and extreme, but it derives from a mindset that was quite common during Byzantium's last days. Throughout what was left of the Empire the threat of Ottoman domination had led some, including members of the Byzantine royal family, to consider re-unification with the Catholic Church. Emperor John V Palaeologos had converted to Catholicism in 1369, which rendered the religious sympathies of every succeeding emperor in his family suspect.[35] And the Byzantines had already had

[35] For a survey of events during the Empire's declining years, see George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 533 & ff.

bitter experience with Catholic rule, after the Fourth Crusade of 1204; wherever Latin forces conquered Byzantine territory, they installed a Catholic hierarchy, forced their Orthodox subjects to become Catholics, and converted Orthodox churches to the Catholic rite.[36] Given the brutal history of Latin occupation, it is no surprise that the movement to preserve Orthodoxy remained strong, and the memories of the Crusades made re-unification nearly impossible.[37]

Because the *Dialogue in Christ* has yet to be precisely dated, it is not clear whether Symeon wrote it during the Venetian occupation of Thessalonica or before – he arrived some time in 1416 or 1417, and the Venetians were given control of the city in 1423. But whether the Venetians were already there or still only threatening to take over, Symeon's *Dialogue* was among Orthodoxy's last attempts to defend itself from Catholic control. In the end, anti-Catholic sentiment did not prevent powerful families in Thessalonica from secretly negotiating to hand over the city to the Venetians, who (it was argued) would be able protect their vital business interests from Turkish attacks.[38]

By 1423, the city was once again under a Turkish siege, and Thessalonica's young despot Andronikos Paleologos was forced by the city fathers to negotiate his own surrender; he was soon sent into monastic exile. Symeon, who already had been Archbishop of Thessalonica for nearly seven years, was forced to negotiate with the

---

The Turks had already occupied Thessalonica once, albeit briefly, before Symeon's arrival (Ostrogorsy, *History*, 546-557).

[36] As Ostrogorsky notes, with the Latin seizure of Constantinople in 1204 "The ecclesiastical subordination of the Greeks to the Papacy was formally achieved, though not by way of an agreed Church union . . . but by the compulsion of conquest" (*History*, 425).

[37] "While the Byzantine state was being forced to cede one position after another, the Byzantine Church was regaining its former authority" (Ostrogorsky, *History*, 536).

[38] For a brief albeit partisan description of the political structure in Late Byzantine Thessalonica and "The Twelve," its board of governors, see Apostolos E. Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*, trans. T. F. Carney (Thessalonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1963), 53-55.

Venetians simply to preserve the Orthodox churches under his see.[39] For the rest of his life, until his death in September 1429, Symeon defended the rights of his flock (or what was left of it) under increasingly authoritarian Latin rule.[40] The anti-Catholic sentiments in Symeon's *Dialogue in Christ*, and its chapter on Latin sacred drama in particular, can be read at least partially as a response to the general threat of Latin rule and the reality of Venetian cultural dominance.

Symeon's political writings paint an even darker picture; throughout his tenure he also struggled with the threat that Thessalonica's elite might surrender to the Ottoman Sultan and convert *en masse* to Islam. During the Ottoman's previous occupation of the city (1387-1403), many had converted in part to avoid taxes. Another more compelling motivation for conversion, and one that may have had a direct bearing on performances of the *Office of the Three Children*, was the Sultan's demand for a *paidomazoma* or "youth-tribute" from Orthodox families in Thessalonica in 1393.[41] And although the return of Thessalonica to Byzantine rule in 1403 may have eased tensions somewhat, the Turkish threat remained constant. Symeon's Thessalonica had already undergone persecution and radical challenges to its spiritual identity before his arrival, and the city's experience under Turkish rule would have left many in doubt about the need for Orthodoxy.[42]

---

[39] See Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works*, 164-168.
[40] Vacalopoulos, *A History of Thessaloniki*, 65-70.
[41] On the phenomenon of mass-conversions to Islam in Macedonia under 14th century Turkish rule, as well as the Janissaries (the Ottoman term for the corps that Orthodox children were groomed for) see A. E. Vacalopoulos, *History of Macedonia 1354-1833*, trans. Peter Megann (Thessalonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1973), 67-72. Contrary to popular belief, the loss of young men to the Ottoman court was a great blow to the Christian community, as reflected in a highly emotional sermon given by then-Archbishop Isidore (see an extended quote of the homily Isidore gave on this occastion, 71-72).
[42] La Broquière mentions a Genoan noble who bragged that he had helped the Turks take Thessalonica from the Venetians in 1430, not long after Symeon's death. La Broquière notes that he had since seen many people there renounce the Christian faith (la Broquière, 142).

That this pro-Turkish party, led in part by citizens who were already Muslims, also enjoyed great popular support was for Symeon "something more difficult to stomach than ten thousand deaths." Knowing that capitulation to the Turks could, in theory, save lives, but that surrender (and conversion) would also guarantee the wealthy their estates, Symeon condemned his flock's lack of spirituality:

> Their concern was to be fed like farm animals and to lack none of those things which fatten the flesh and make it swell up and which bring in money and turn men into magnates, putting them in authority and providing them with a horse and a cloak . . . But they are not at all concerned about their Maker, nor about God's being confessed with sound doctrine and praised with pure worship . . .[43]

It was hard enough to deal with Catholic overlords; but the prospect that churches might be converted to mosques (as they may have been before)[44] and the Orthodox willingly converted to Islam was especially troubling. The archbishop was sometimes treated with such hostility that he found himself quoting the Apostle Paul, "I have almost become the scapegoat of all things," openly admitting the desperate nature of his situation.[45]

The situation in Constantinople, which had not yet surrendered but which had long been, in essence, a vassal Turkish state, was comparable. Political infighting was rife in the capitol, and when they weren't colluding with the Pope the

---

[43] See Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works*, 56 & 157 (Greek & English translation).

[44] See Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works*, 251-253. Balfour believes Symeon "is inclined to over-statement" about the number of churches seized during the first Turkish occupation, finding confirmation of only one monastic church that had been converted to a mosque. But given Vacalopoulos' account of mass-conversions during this period, it is probably Balfour who overstates; mosques were a fact of urban life in Symeon's Thessalonica, and there would have been a number of them – confirmed or not.

[45] 1 Ep. Cor. 4:13 (see Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works*, 55 & 156 (Greek & English translation)). Balfour finds Symeon's intransigence extreme and indefensible. Noting that Moslem holy law made it possible for Christians to surrender to the Turks and retain their religious identity (269), Balfour condemns Symeon for his failure to make the political concessions that would have saved the lives and preserved the spirituality of his congregation. See also Balfour, "Saint Symeon," 69-70. There is no evidence that Balfour had taken the *paidomazoma* of 1393 into consideration here, although the Thessalonican Orthodox community no doubt would have.

Palaeologan royal family was cutting deals with (and fighting alongside) their Turkish masters. Even those who wished to remain Orthodox openly preferred, as one official put it, the Sultan's turban to the Pope's miter. Religious and political identity in Byzantium, for over one millennium inextricably linked, was now fluid.[46]

As noted above, Michal Kobialka stresses the importance of understanding the social, political and theological forces that informed western Medieval representational practice. The same can said for the *Office of the Three Children*; throughout the Late Byzantine period, religious and political identity was contested and highly unstable, and this instability – coupled with the *paidomazoma*, and the implication that Constantinople, the "second Jerusalem," was undergoing a fate prefigured by the Old Testament – might have both inspired the creation of the *Office*, and informed its reception by the congregation. For the Orthodox, the story of the Children had become all too relevant again. The Old Testament, traditionally read as a prefiguration of Christ's salvation history, could now be read as a prefiguration of the Empire's fate: Constantinople, the "Second Jerusalem," was slowly succumbing to a biblically-foretold fate. Performances of the *Office* took place within an Orthodox community that had already lost a number of its sons to the Ottoman Sultan, the new Nebuchanazzar, and that had been subject to pressures to assimilate into other politico-theological regimes. Byzantium's decline and fall may yet prove to be the primary motive for creating the Office of the Three Children.

The Orthodox, by this time, were not the only ones in the congregation; as the Empire collapsed, outsiders became a more dominant presence both inside and

---

[46] See Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works*, 271. Balfour cites sources blaming the Venetians for alternately lobbying and forcing Thessalonicans to resist the Turks, and notes that there was a similar "Anti-Ottoman lobby" in Constantinople.

outside the church, and this would have led to awareness that the *Office* was a multivalent event. A normative, Orthodox reading of the *Office* might interpret it as a ritual about remaining true to the ancestral faith, with the promise of a spiritual reward. But for those indifferent or hostile to Orthodoxy, ideological distance would have had the effect of secularizing the performance, with ample room to interpret it (as la Broquiere did) in dramatic terms. Symeon, more accustomed to "preaching to the converted," found himself having to explain the rite to outsiders, and insisting on its ritual character.

The presence of conflicting discourses and understandings of ritual and theatre, at the dogmatic, linguistic and cultural levels, make diverse eyewitness responses almost inevitable. But as Archbishop Symeon alluded to in the *Dialogue in Christ*, the Orthodox were especially anxious about the perception that they were performing a drama. Perceptions of dramatic representation – whether through the creation of settings, the performance of certain individuals, or the visual citation of signs and movements from a particular narrative -- may prove to be the key to understanding both the Western reaction to the *Office*, and the disagreements among Orthodox clergy about exactly how to perform and define it.

Chapter 6: The Office of the Three Children in Performance

Texts and Textual Strategies[1]

The *Office of the Three Children* survives in at least five distinct versions, each of which directs a performance from a different perspective; although there is agreement on many of the basic melodies some versions provide alternative musical settings. And disagreements on some of the rite's basic visual strategies reveal that even performers and producers themselves were unsure about the Office's representational practice.[2]

None of the manuscripts addressed here offer complete instructions for performance as such; writers frequently use abbreviations for key terms (e.g., *Akolouth* for *Akoloutheia*, "Office"), and give the *incipit*, or opening lyrics, instead of complete hymns. Each version was composed for groups of celebrants already familiar with the *Office* who would have assembled the rest of the materials from a library of other, complementary liturgical books.[3]

1. Athens National Library MS 2047 (Athens 2047), dated ca. 1420-1429,[4] is a well-worn *Typikon* or Ordo (service book) attributed to Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica. Portions have been written in

---

[1] Because of the emphasis on music in the Orthodox rite, studies of the *Office* from Velimirović's time onward have addressed its performative, musical aspects. By contrast, studies of western sacred drama have been hampered by an emphasis on literary analysis; only recently has a second wave of scholars begun to focus more on reconstructions of actual performances, including music; see for example the Introduction to Dunbar H. Ogden, *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 17-18.

[2] Velimirović ("Liturgical Drama," 354) preferred to stress the "remarkable agreement" among the versions he surveyed; this agreement included the musical notation from two versions he was able to transcribe by facsimile, Athens 2406 and Sinai 1527.

[3] See Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 129-145, for a description of sixteen different types of Byzantine liturgical books; Wellesz's list, now some forty years old, is far from comprehensive.

[4] The author would like to thank Dr. Alexander Lingas for sharing his transcription of Symeon's *Office* for the present study.

Symeon's own hand, and include descriptions of the archbishop's own role in the *Office*. The lack of musical notation indicates that it is intended as a reference work for priests who produced and presided over the *Office*'s performance. Symeon states that this *typikon* is intended to correct past liturgical errors, so Athens 2047 serves a function similar to that of St. Ethelwold's *Regularis Concordia*.[5]

2. Athens National Library MS 2406 (Athens 2406), dated ca. 1453, is an *Akoloutheia*, or collection of hymns for performance of festal offices, specific to the Late Byzantine period. The anthology was compiled at the monastery of St. John the Forerunner in Serres (not far from Thessalonica) around the time of the Fall of Constantinople, and includes the works of anywhere from 70 to 100 composers.[6] In spite of the number of hymnographers cited elsewhere, Athens 2406's version of the *Office* does not include any specific attributions. This, plus the lack of indications for the choir leader's tuning motifs (see Iviron 1120 below) would indicate that this version was designed for ensemble performers in the choir. The location and date of Athens 2406's composition indicate that it may represent the version of the *Office of the Three Children* as it was performed in and around Thessalonica after Archbishop Symeon's death.

3. Iviron Monastery MS 1120 (Iviron 1120), dated 1458, is a *Papadike* or hymn anthology with instruction manual designed for choir leaders. The version of the *Office* in this manuscript includes composer's names as well as instructions for tuning motifs, *echismata*, which are traditionally given by choir leaders at key points during the service. This liturgical book records the repertoire of a former choir leader in Constantinople – court composer, music theorist and *lampadarios* (i.e., leader of the second, or left-hand choir) Manuel Chrysaphes. Chrysaphes was in Constantinople during its last years of Byzantine

---

[5] See Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 217-218. For a brief description of this MS, see *Συμεών Ἀρχιεπισκοποῦ Θεσσαλονίκης· τα Λειτουργικά Συγγράμματα*, vol. 1, *Ἐύχαι καὶ Ὕμνοι* (The Liturgical Treatises of Symeon Archbishop of Thessaloniki: Prayers and Hymns), ed. Ioannes M. Phountoules (Thessalonica: Center for Macedonian Studies, 1968), ιγ' – ιδ' (pp. 13-14). Phountoules believes Athens 2047 was done "if not by his own hand, certainly under his close supervision" ("Liturgical Treatises," 13). See Balfour, *Politico-Historical Works*, 28, for his description of how another MS attributed to Symeon was probably assembled – i.e., with a scribe doing most of the writing, and Symeon providing corrections and/or clarifications. The present study will be based on first-hand study of Athens 2047 as well as Lingas' unpublished transcription.

[6] A transcription of the *Office* as found in Athens 2406 can be found in P. S. Trempelas, *Ἐκλογή Ἑλληνικές Ὀρθοδοξοῦ Ὑμνογραφίας* (A Selection of Greek Orthodox Hymnography) (Athens, 1949), 298-300, but also in Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 378-83. A facsimile of Athens 2046 is in the permanent collection of the Microfilm Library at the University of Virginia. For an overview of Athens 2406's date of composition and its contents see Miloš Velimirović, "Byzantine Composers in MS Athens 2406," in *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. Jack Westrup (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966): 7-18. The present study will be based on Velimirović and Trempelas' transcriptions, as well as first-hand study of the manuscript.

rule, and his version of the *Office* comes closest to what would have been seen and heard by la Broquiere during his visit.[7]

4. Mount Sinai MS 1527 (Sinai 1527), dated ca. 16th Century, is an *Anoixantarion*, a collection of abbreviated saints' lives normally read between the Orthros and the Liturgy. Because this collection of saints' lives includes instructions for a sung office complete with musical notation and attributions to composers, this multi-purpose text may have been designed for performance in a smaller church where the functions of reader and cantor may have been combined. The provenance of this MS is unclear, but represents a distinct tradition of the *Office*, for reasons to be discussed below.[8]

5. Lavra Monastery MS Λ165 (Lavra 165), tentatively dated to the 17th Century, is a *papadike* similar in many respects to Iviron 1120. The compiler for Lavra 165 is unknown, but because this version of the *Office* contains much of the material written by Chrysaphes, it is either based directly upon Iviron 1120, or on a similar source-text. The inclusion of the *Office* in this late MS may have been the work of dutiful preservationists, but may also indicate that the rite remained a part of the liturgical repertoire in the monastic community long after the Fall of Constantinople.[9]

The format generally followed in liturgical manuscripts is to use a combination of dark (black or brown) and red ink, each color serving a specific function. With Athens 2047, dark ink is reserved for traditional liturgical actions (such as the Archbishop's pre-rite blessings) and the hymns' lyrics. In terms of movements, the red ink provides the initial letters of rubrics for performers before and

[7] This manuscript includes, as an introduction, a treatise by Chrysaphes on hymnography which has appeared in a critical edition with English translation. See Manuel Chrysaphes, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios*, trans. Dimitri E. Conomos (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985). The present study uses the transcription of the *Office* as found in Dmitrievskiĭ, "Chin peshchnago dieistva," 585-588.

[8] Velimirović ("Liturgical Drama," 355) believes that Sinai 1527 may be either based directly on Athens 2406, or rely on a version common to both; based on its later date, he further characterizes Sinai 1527 as "an attempt to reconcile some of the differences" between Athens 2406 and Iviron 1120. The present study will be based on Velmirović's transcription, ibid., 378-381.

[9] Velimirović ("Liturgical Drama," 354) considers the inclusion of the *Office* in this MS to be "an anachronism," which it may be; but until further studies are made of both the Lavra and Iviron MSS, this conclusion may be premature. The present study is based on the transcription found in A. E. Lavriotes, "Ἀκολουθεία Ψαλλομένη τη Κυριακή τῶν Ἁγιῶν Πατερῶν πρό τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Γεννεσέως, ἤτι τῆς καμίνου (Sung Office for the Sunday of the Holy Fathers before Christmas, i.e., [Office] of the Furnace)" Ἐκκλεσιαστική Ἀλήθεια 20 (1895-1896): 345-346.

during the *Office*; musically, the red ink designates the modes for each hymn and the distribution of verses among choir and soloists.[10] In Athens 2047, red ink is also used for marginal corrections and clarifications that may have been written by Archbishop Symeon himself.

In the other manuscript directly available for this study, Athens 2406, the musical signs or neumes are written in a combination of dark and red ink. The *somata* or "bodies," which signified single-tone movements in the melody, and *pneumata*, "spirits," which signaled movements of two tones or greater, are in dark ink. The last and newest class of neumes, the *megales hypostaseis* or "great substances," which provided information on the dynamics, rate and direction of movement of the singer's voice, are usually in red ink.[11]

The relationship among these three classes of notation is comparable to that between a silhouette and the individuating details of a portrait; the *somata* and *pneumata* offer the melody's outline, while the *hypostases* create the melody's unique identity.[12] As discussed previously, liturgical music was constructed as a spiritual revelation, and even the terms for musical notation had a spiritual significance. An

[10] Touliatos (*The Byzantine Amamos Chant*, 31) notes that in versions of the great "Amamos" Chant (Psalm 118), capital letters for certain verses as found in the Horologion, or liturgical book of hours, are in red rather than black ink; by Post-Byzantine times, these initial red capitals indicate the specific scheme by which the Psalm had been divided for performance.

[11] See Wellesz, *Byzantine Music*, 284-300, for a description of these classes of notation.

[12] Conomos notes that the hypostases, also referred to as "cheironomic" because of their probable origins in hand-signals given to the choir, "are usually, though not always, written in red ink below (and sometimes above, but rarely between) the black notation which denotes the intervallic progression of the melody (see *Byzantine Trisagia*, 326). So subjective is the usage of these neumes that their inscription in black or red ink often seems dependent on the tastes of the composer/copyist; see *Byzantine Trisagia*, 334 & ff. for an analysis of *hypostases* and the use of red or black ink to inscribe them.

anonymous musical treatise from this period offers a spiritual explanation for a wide variety of these neumes, going well beyond their musical value.[13]

The variety of musical settings for key passages of the *Office* indicates that the *Office* (in some cases, if not all) provided a unique annual showcase for a composer's and chanter's talents. Its authors sometimes paused while writing the rubrics to comment on aesthetic matters, and provided information about possible motivations for some of their choices: several passages in Athens 2406, for example, comment on the aesthetic effect of musical passages, and on the choice of singers.

Past studies of the *Office* have assumed the existence of an *ur*-text, with the more elaborate or 'complete' versions receiving the greatest attention.[14] Disagreements and omissions in the rubrics, no matter how significant from the perspective of performer or audience, are treated as minor variations or mistakes. In his synoptic scheme of extant versions, for example, Velimirović made little or no comment on the omission of performance elements, no matter how significant. The differences between Sinai 1527's *Office* and earlier versions like those in Athens 2047 or Athens 2406 imply that there was an alternative tradition for the rite that avoided elements regarded by Velimirović as characteristic or typical. It may be more appropriate, then, to speak not of one *Office of the Three Children* but of several, each responding to the needs and tastes of a specific community, with its own ritual aesthetic.

---

[13] See *Anonymous Questions and Answers on the Interval Signs*, trans. Bjarne Schartau (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998).
[14] See Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 355; Velimirović regarded Athens 2406 as the "possible prototype." Lingas ("Liturgical Place and Origins,") bases his description of the *Office* on Athens 2406 and Athens 2047.

Preparations and Orthros

Performances of most versions of the *Office* required designating an area as a "furnace," hanging an icon-angel and preparing or dressing the soloists performing as the Children. The present section will attempt to reconstruct their placement and how they might have appeared; and because these elements were regarded as traditional, or at least were not seen as "innovations" in Symeon's eyes, this section will also address precedents for each element in order to determine how they might have been seen (or at least presented) as natural developments in Orthodox ritual practice.

The Furnace

Each version of the *Office* calls for a performance area designated as a *kaminos*, or "furnace." This performance area is so central that in Sinai 1527 and Iviron 1120, as well as Athens 2047, it is known simply as the "Office of the Furnace." As Symeon implied in his *Dialogue*, the furnace looked to outsiders like a stage. Symeon's explanation that his "furnace" is purified with the Holy Spirit and lit only with liturgical lamps avoids the more fundamental question: given Orthodoxy's tradition of non-representational ritual practice, does this furnace actually *represent* a specific biblical site?

Symeon's term for this area in Athens 2047 is *typikēn kaminon*, a "typic" or "model furnace," which would mean that the area is conceived in a manner analogous to a sacred image.[15] Athens 2047 is the only one to specify this more abstract mode of representation; but even assuming that Symeon's conduct of the *Office* was the most conservative of the five (and this is not the case, as shall be discussed below),

[15] Athens 2047, fol. 219v. An English translation by the present author is included as an attachment to this chapter.

several elements would have contributed to the appearance of this "typic furnace." First, there was the iconographical tradition, which depicted it as an open-air pyre; second, there was the need to harmonize the furnace's appearance with pre-existing structures in the nave; and third, because the *Office* was a musical performance, there was the need to ensure that the congregation had optimal visual and acoustic access to the choir and soloists.

These preconditions all point towards the use of the *ambo* as the site of the "typic furnace;" its waist-high barrier easily suggests the icon's pyre. Located as it was in the proverbial *omphalos*, or "navel" of the church, it was already the congregation's central focus. Its acoustical value was understood: chanters performed on, under and around the *ambo* during services, including (as shall be discussed below) the Orthros that preceded the *Office*. Moreover, the *ambo*'s platform would have been large enough to accommodate the choirboys and their movements; Paul the Silentiary, in his description of the *ambo* at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, specifically mentions a choir of boys singing directly under the platform, in the ample space between its supporting columns.[16] Staging the *Office* merely placed three boys on top of the massive *ambo*, rather than down below. Although on a smaller scale, the *ambo* in Thessalonica may still have had room enough for the choirboy's movements.

---

[16] "That whole fair construction of stone, whence the precepts of divinely wise books are read out, has been artfully fixed on eight cunningly wrought columns . . . and underneath the stone there is, as it were, another chamber, wherein the sacred song is raised by fair children, heralds of wisdom. What is roof for those below is a floor for those above; the latter is like a spreading plain, made level for the feet of mortals . . . " . As quoted in Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972; reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 92-93. The ambo also served as the site for coronations, and was large enough to accommodate several grown men, as well as a small table for vestments (See Majeska, "The Emperor in His Church," 2).

Although a late-morning performance at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople would not have required artificial lighting, Symeon's *Office*, very likely performed at dawn, would have needed liturgical lamps and candles. Given the traditional use of artificial lighting in the darkness of an early winter morning, or at vespers or late-night vigils, there would have been lights available throughout the nave already. Traditional fixtures would have included free-standing *kandelai* (with solitary lights) or *polykandela* (with multiple lights), with chandeliers of various shapes and sizes suspended from the dome or pillars, etc.[17] If performed at dawn,[18] these lamps and candles would have served the practical function of illuminating the performers and their service books, and hence would have served a normal, liturgical function. In Symeon's case, the use of an *ambo* with traditional lighting would have reinforced its liturgical nature.

The Angel

Most (but not all) versions of the *Office* call for an angel to be lowered towards the furnace; in contrast with the later Latin tradition of using actors, Symeon states that the angel was depicted in an icon.[19] Only one version of the *Office*, Lavra 165, specifically describes the angel as being "dressed in white with a purple orarion," the traditional garb of a deacon. Because Archangels are understood to be celebrants in the eternal, heavenly liturgy, the image of angel-as-deacon can be

[17] For a catalogue of liturgical lighting devices in use from the Middle Byzantine period onward, see Laskarina Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *Jahrbuch der Österreichsischen Byzantinistik* 32/3 (1982): 479-491; see also her entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Lighting, Ecclesiastical," 2.1227-1228.
[18] Symeon calls for Orthros to be performed before sunrise – see below.
[19] In Parma, an image of the angel Gabriel was lowered as part of the reading of the Annunciation story (see Young, *Medieval Drama*, 2.245 & 2.479-480); there is at yet no evidence, however, connecting this ceremony with Late Byzantine ritual practice.

interpreted as a visual citation of the heavenly liturgy occurring in parallel with the *Office*.[20]

Although there does not appear to be any precedent for raising and lowering icons as in the *Office*, the problem of how it was done is easily solved. In his study of the *Office* Velimirović noted, not without irony, that lowering the angel would have required equipment of the sort "not unknown to stagehands."[21] But he neglected to mention that the performers could have hung the icon from any number of brackets, ropes or chains already in daily use. Paul the Silentiary gives a sense of the possibilities in his description of Justinian's Hagia Sophia:

> "The deep wisdom of our Emperors has stretched from the projecting stone cornice, on whose back is planted the foot of the temple's lofty dome, long twisted chains of beaten brass . . . from many points on a long course these fall together to the ground, but before they reach the floor, their lofty path is checked and they form an even choir.[22]

Paul describes a large network of chains holding chandeliers of various sizes, which would have been used routinely for nearly eight hundred years before the time of the *Office*.[23] The question, then, is not how the angel would be hung but where: and if the ambo were the site of the "furnace," with its platform positioned (for acoustical purposes) slightly east of the nave's center, a cable suspended from the eastern end of the central dome – like those at the churches of Hagia Sophia in both Constantinople

---

[20] The iconography of archangels is a somewhat contested subject; Cyril Mango points out that earlier images in both literary and iconographical souces depict archangels in imperial dress, a tendency that was denounced as pagan and only eventually gave way to the later, Deacon imagery discussed in the present study. See his article, "St. Michael and Attis," *Δελτίον Χριστιανκής Ἀρχαεολογικής Ἑταιρείας* 12 (1984), 39-62.
[21] Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 362.
[22] Translation from Mango, *Art of the Byzantine Empire,* 89-90.
[23] A 12th century traveler confirms that Paul's observation was accurate: "their number is beyond words, neither mouth nor tongue can number them" (K. N. Ciggaar, "Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XIIe Siècle (An anonymous description of Constantinople from the 12th Century)," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 31 (1973): 339.

and Thessalonica – would have placed the angel just east of the *ambo*. Visually this would have placed the icon-archangel “above” the choirboys, and it could have been lowered (presumably by a minor church official) without obstructing the view of the boys and their movements.

The sight of such icons in motion was not unusual, since their chief virtue was their mobility; as discussed above, the earliest templon screens were decorated with processional icons which were used routinely in both the city and the countryside. Icons led triumphal emperors upon their return to Constantinople, sometimes riding in their own chariots, and often led the processions to church for regular services, as well as high feast days.

During times of crisis, moreover, the movement of icons through and around threatened communities was believed to have protective powers.[24] Nor was the perception of an icon’s agency or action during the *Office* unprecedented; one famous icon had already performed as the protagonist in its own paratheatrical drama of display during the Middle Byzantine period. Under the reign of the Comneni, the church of the Virgin at Blachernae hosted a weekly ‘miracle’ at vespers, in which an icon of the Virgin Mary appeared to unveil itself and light up without the aid of human hands. Because of the church’s location near the outer city walls attendance at this iconic “miracle,” performed like clockwork for Friday services, was a prerequisite for emperors and their troops prior to departing on military campaigns – and was even used during its “off-duty hours” to adjudicate legal disputes. An

[24] For processions using icons of the Virgin Mary to ward off attacks see for example Nancy Ševčenko, “Icons in the Liturgy,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991), 49.

encomium delivered by Michael Psellos in honor of this "miracle" extolled its virtues and justified both its legal and ritual uses.[25]

Given the icon's variety of uses and modes of presentation, the descent of an icon-angel during services may not have seemed like an innovation. Icons routinely blessed and protected the Christian community by a variety of means, all of them involving movement, and some of them "miraculous" (i.e., by machine). Moreover, given the rate at which Orthodox churches were being seized by both Ottoman and Latin authorities for conversion to other rites, the descent of an icon-angel during the *Office* can be read as an invocation of divine protection for the physical Church itself.

The Children

The last elements requiring special preparation, as mentioned in most of the MSS, are the three "children." The term *paides*, here designating the "Children of Israel," is also used in the *Office* for the featured soloists. In Greek, *paides* is a neuter noun that usually signifies young children who have not yet become gendered, i.e., arrived at puberty. Symeon's description of using "children pure as those Children" who had been "sealed" [i.e., baptized], would indicate that the performers were Orthodox choirboys.[26]

It is unclear whether the use of choirboys as soloists was unique to the *Office*, but the use of singing boys with their upper register recalls the traditional use of *castrati* as chanters. *Castrati* had performed in Orthodox churches since the days of

---

[25] See Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 51; for the oration see *Michaelis Pselli: Orationes Hagiographicae*, ed. Elizabeth A. Fisher (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1994), 199-229. Psellos even compares the "miracle" at Blachernae with the machine-gods of antiquity. The author would like to thank Dr. Fisher for providing an English-language summary of this oration.
[26] Having served as a choirboy himself, the author reserves judgement as to their purity.

St. John Chrysostom, their use declining only as a result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204.[27] Given the Byzantine iconographical tradition of depicting the Children as eunuchs, *castrati* would have been a natural choice for soloists – if the primary concern were to represent the biblical Children realistically. Symeon's call for choirboys can be interpreted as a deliberate choice, made to avoid the perception of western representational practice.

Nearly all versions of the *Office* refer to "preparations" for the soloists representing the Children; the nature of these preparations is specified in Lavra 165, where the soloists don white robes, and in Athens 2047 where Symeon merely states that the boys have "changed" and enter carrying lamps (as altar boys are wont to do). Velimirović thought that "preparations" for the children implied some kind of costume,[28] but neither Lavra 165 nor Athens 2047 indicate anything beyond traditional liturgical robes. Moreover, unlike later, Russian versions of an explicitly theatrical "Furnace Play,"[29] there is no evidence among lists of church properties for any oriental costumes, as would have been used if the *Office* were intended to depict the story realistically.

---

[27] See Moran, "Byzantine Castrati," 99-112. It is unlikely that *castrati* had altogether vanished from church choirs after 1204; la Broquière noted eunuchs in the Palaeologan court, implying that their musical counterparts would have been present as well; finally, a 14th century fresco at the church of Markov Monastery near Skopje (see the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, s.v. "Singers," 3.1903) depicts a "mixed" choir, with both bearded and un-bearded male singers. The most amusing evidence for the castrati's survival can be found in an outrageous liturgical satire, the "Office of the Beardless Man" (*Akoloutheia tou Spanou*); for a critically edited Greek text see Hans Eideneier, *Spanos: eine byzantinischen Satire in der Form einer Parodie* ("Spanos:" A Byzantine Satire in the form of a Parody) (New York: de Gruyter, 1977)
[28] Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 362.
[29] Russian church accounts for the "Furnace Play" list expenses for costuming for the Chaldeans, the Children's keepers ("Liturgical Drama," 366). Even in Russia, however, there was apparently no special costuming required for the Choirboys, a further indication that they too wore choir robes. For more on the *Office*'s later Russian incarnation see Appendix 7, "The Russian Furnace Play."

Orthros

The *Office* was performed annually on the Sunday of the Fathers, a holiday commemorating the Old Testament prophets; four versions of the *Office* specify that it begin immediately after completion of the Orthros. Traditionally celebrated at sunrise – to take advantage of the symbolism of the rising sun – the Orthros began with a vigil in the *narthex* (the western chamber outside the nave) followed by entry into the nave to consecrate the space for the Liturgy, accompanied by more chant and readings from the *ambo*. On normal days, the Orthros ended with the clergy's entrance into the sanctuary for prayer. During the course of this ceremony, the entire church interior was censed, symbolizing purification by the Holy Spirit for the day's celebrations.[30]

Conduct of the Orthros varied: on Saturdays, the day appointed for songs from the canticles as opposed to the traditional Psalms, the "Prayer of Azariah," Dan. 3:26-44 (LXX), accompanied the entrance into the nave. But every Orthros featured the *Benedicite*, the "Song of the Three Children" (Dan. 3:57-88 (LXX)) once the celebrants were inside the nave, and this canticle was chanted from the *ambo*.[31] By the late Byzantine period, the chanted or "asmatic" Orthros had become a heady

---

[30] On the basic structure of asmatic Orthros in late Byzantine times see Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 123 & ff. On the time of performance see Miguel Arranz, "Les Prières Presbytérales des Matines Byzantines (Prayers of the Clergy from Byzantine Matins)," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971): 406-436. Arranz, noting the apparent interchangeability of certain prayers between Orthros and Vespers, finds the Byzantine church agreed with the Jewish injunction to begin morning prayers at the moment one could distinguish a white thread from a blue one – i.e., prior to sunrise. "C'est bien le temps à cheval entre la nuit et le jour qui a été le temps de la veillée matinale à Jérusalem et à Constantinople." ("Prières Presbytérales," 436). On the order of censing the church's interior in Symeon's time see Jean Darrouzès, "Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un Rituel," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 34 (1976): 60-63.

[31] See Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 92, and "Liturgical Place and Origins," 5-6.

mixture of traditional urban and monastic psalmody, with the Children's canticles already playing a central role.[32]

In Thessalonica, on the Sunday of the Fathers, the Three Children provided the theme for the Orthros: Symeon begins with a responsory hymn or *hypacoe* dedicated to the Children, and borrows from the traditional Saturday rite by inserting antiphonal chants of the "Prayer of Azariah" during the entrance into the nave.[33] The "Song of the Three Children" retains its usual place and is sung antiphonally from the ambo. In this way, the canticles that form the basis of the *Office of the Three Children* have already been chanted antiphonally prior to its performance. The remainder of the Orthros focused on other biblical psalms and canticles; because it usually began in darkness outside the nave and ended in daylight, the symbolic focus would normally have been on the Resurrection.[34] But Symeon remarks in his *typikon* that the Orthros in Thessalonica ended before sunrise, which would place the beginning of his *Office* at a time when the nave would have been illuminated by a reddish aurora from the rising sun (see fig. 13).[35]

[32] This was especially the case under Symeon's watch; for an account of the Orthros on regular Sundays in Thessalonica see Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 219 & ff.

[33] See Lingas, "Sunday Matins," Table 1 (taken from Athens 2047 ff. 214v-215v). Lingas, referring to other musical manuscripts used in Thessalonica, Athens 2061 and 2062, indicates that the entrance into the nave would occur during a pause after Dan. 3:44 (LXX), and would resume again with Dan. 3:52 (LXX). In addition, Lingas notes that the musical setting is more melismatic and in the 'brighter' mode of fourth plagal ("Sunday Matins," 6-7).

[34] As Lingas notes, "Instead of explicitly mimetic features or a multitude of anamnetic texts, the asmatic office modestly possessed . . . an implicitly Paschal character, evoking the historical setting of the Resurrection by means of its vigil in the narthex and subsequent triumphal entrance into the nave" ("Sunday Matins," 126).

[35] Athens 2047 fol. 7r, as referenced in Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 269. Lingas also mentions an additional procession with an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria ("she who shows the way," depicting Mary gesturing with her free hand towards the baby Jesus in her lap). Lingas notes that the icon was removed from its place within the church for processional purposes on the Sunday of the Fathers ("Sunday Matins," 268-269).

To mark the transition between Orthros and the *Office*, Symeon directs that once he is seated in a throne erected at the foot of a southeast pillar in the nave, facing the *solea* and *ambo*, the choirboys are led to him by the choir leader, dressed in their robes and bearing lamps, for his blessing. The choir leader removes his hat and offers a prayer, whereupon the archbishop, by way of reply, intones the traditional benediction, "Blessed be the kingdom of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."[36]

The exact placement of the choir at the end of the Orthros varies depending on local tradition. In Thessalonica, the choir would have ranged themselves along the southern barrier of the *solea* facing the Archbishop (fig. 14).[37] In Constantinople, on high feast days like the Sunday of the Fathers the choir would stand around the pillars supporting the *ambo*, at floor level (fig. 15).[38] Assuming that the choirboys were led to the *ambo* by the cantors, either of these configurations would have placed the choir at or near their positions for the *Office* immediately after the Archbishop's (or, in Constantinople, Patriarch's) blessings.

---

36 The exact location of the Patriarch in Constantinople is not clear; during the Middle Byzantine period he presided over morning services upstairs in the southern gallery (see Natalia Teteriatnikov, "Hagia Sophia, Constantinople: Religious Images and their Functional Context after Iconoclasm," *Zograf* 30 (2004-2005): 12). But by the Late Byzantine period, he may have occupied a throne in the north aisle, near the sanctuary (see Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 30 & 221). The cantor and choir wore colorful, pointed hats called *skiadia* ("shade-hats") as a sign of their office. See Neil K. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), 37.

37 See Moran, *Singers*, 26-32, for his discussion of placement of singers around the ambo. Moran favors a scheme where the singers line the *solea*.

38 See Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia*, 229. Mainstone, following Paul the Silentiary's lead, has the choir ringing the ambo's platform at floor level. Moran (*Singers*, 28) cites a 12th century *typikon* that places them along the *solea*, on non-festive Sundays.



Figure 13. Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica at Dawn. In the early fifteenth century, the aurora (visible in upper left, coming through a window in the dome) would have flooded the nave with a flame-like light through the windows in the sanctuary apse. Modern construction has blocked the light in the sanctuary area.
Photograph by Kriton Karaitzides.

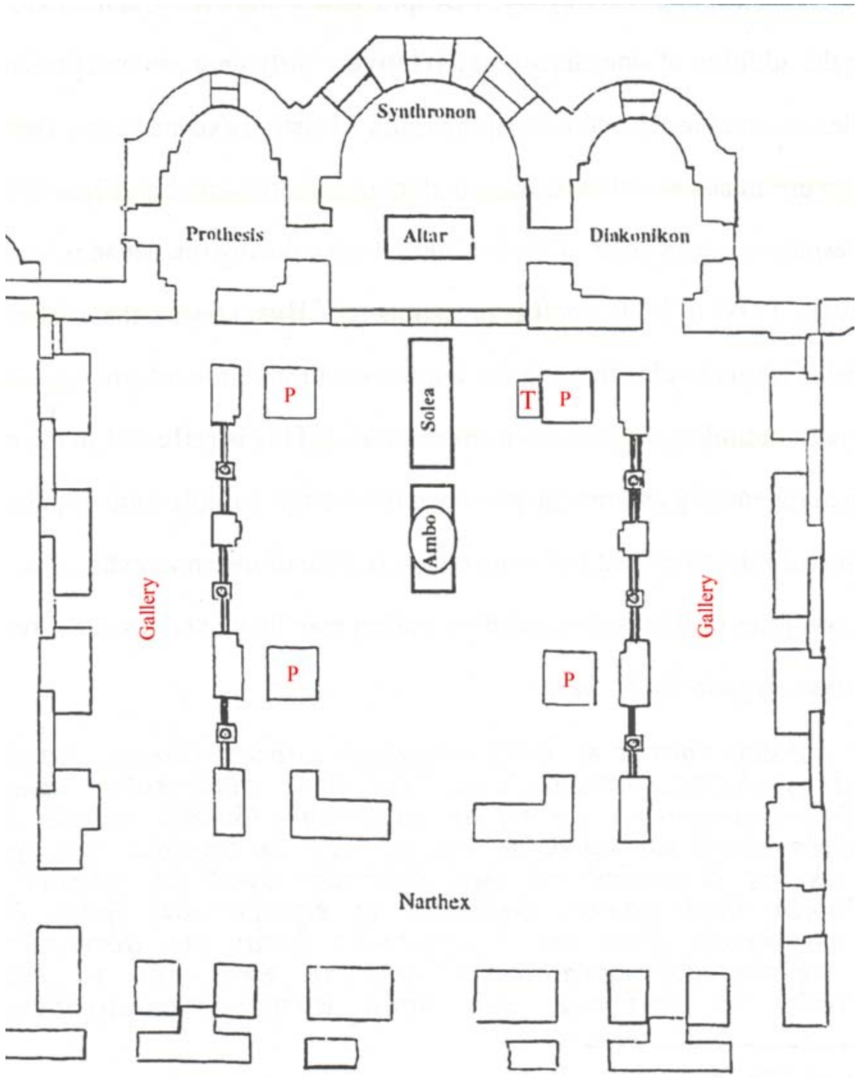


Figure 14. Floor plan for Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica. The central performance area (the *Ambo* and *Solea*) is encompassed by four large pillars (P) supporting the dome. Archbishop Symeon would have watched his *Office* from a throne (T) in front of the SE pillar, prior to chaging vestments and ascending the *synthronon* for the Liturgy. After Kalliopi Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia,* Plan 1.

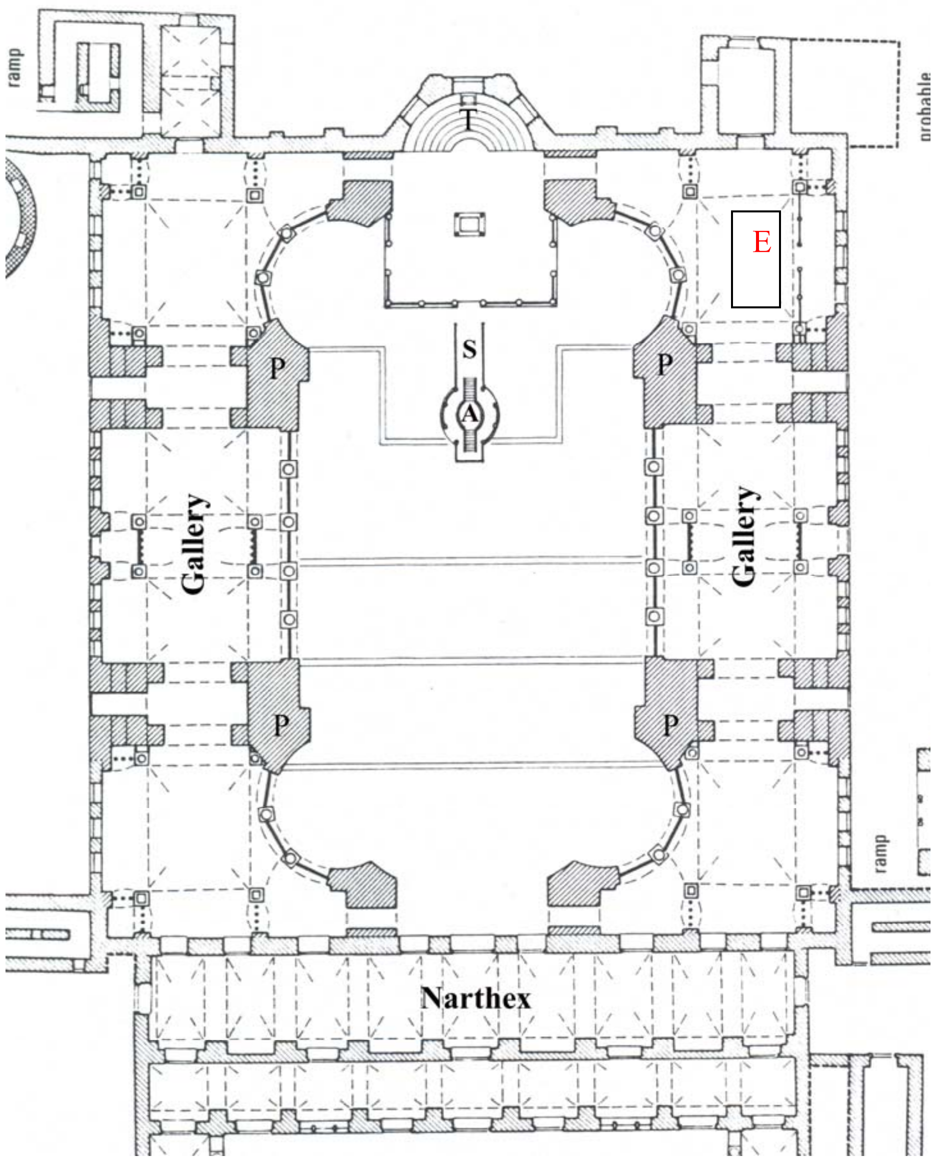


Figure 15. Floor plan for Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. The *Office*'s performers would have clustered around the *ambo* (A) beneath the eastern part of the central dome, from which the angel would have been hung – note the dome's support pillars (P). Although originally seated in the synthonon (T), the by this time the Patriarch may have presided from either the south gallery (right center) or on a throne in the north aisle (top left) opposite the Emperor, whose throne and private chambers were in the south aisle (E). After Rowland J. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure, and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), p. 271, fig. A2.

Although the above reconstruction is in some ways speculative, it does demonstrate how preparations for a performance of the *Office* could have ensured that, right up to the moment it begins, it would have been positioned well within the parameters of traditional Orthodox ritual. With the *ambo* as its most likely focus, and an icon of the Archangel Michael hanging from the dome, the Orthros could have proceeded normally and ended, as it usually did, with the ensemble in position at or near the "typic furnace." To this point, then, all may have been harmonious; but judging from the extant versions of the *Office* exactly what happened next, how it happened, and who did it was a matter of dispute.

The *Office* in Performance

Introduction: On the Office-as-Drama

Most versions of the *Office of the Three Children* appear to proceed in a fashion readily recognizable to students of the drama. A traditional, anonymous hymn provides the prologue and story line, and covers for the entrance of the children into the furnace. Once the performers are in place, the ensemble sings the "Prayer of Azariah" antiphonally, followed by a narrative passage (Dan. 3:46-51 (LXX)) describing Nebuchadnezzar's henchmen feeding the flames. Then, in most but not all versions, a verse heralds the descent of an icon-angel towards the "furnace," whereupon the ensemble sings the "Song of the Three Children" as the children "dance" around inside the furnace, their hands and eyes upraised. A series of *kanons* reflecting on the spiritual meaning of the episode brings the *Office* to a close.

Given the *Office*'s resemblance to a sacred play, and the distinction drawn by Archbishop Symeon between Latin representational practice and the Orthodox

theology of the icon, the following analysis will attempt to identify how the *Office* seeks to avoid the perception of representation or enactment, even as it cites the Biblical story in an unusually vivid fashion. What complicates any study of the *Office*, however, is the instability of its manuscript tradition and, by implication, the instability of the Orthodox ritual aesthetic(s) that lay behind each performance. So although the following analysis of the *Office* may clarify the ways in which it deviated from western representational practice, it will also reveal the ways in which its authors tacitly acknowledged that it may have gone too far in its citation of the Children's story.

Voices

In performance, the *Office* featured three groups of performers: *Domestikoi* or cantors, *Psaltes* or choir members, and three *paides* or "children," usually (but not always) performed by choirboys. The larger metropolitan churches supported two choirs, and each had one cantor to lead them. The choirs, sometimes referred to as "first" and "second," or "right" and "left," each had their own repertoire, sharing responsibilities for an ever-increasing corpus of liturgical chant.[39]

---

[39] See Moran (*Singers*, 16-20) for a brief introduction to the ranks and duties of church singers. Originally, all chanters were led by a *Protopsaltes*, the chief soloist and music-master, and under him were two *Domestikoi*, or cantors, each leading one choir. Apparently by late Byzantine times the roles of the *protopsaltes* and the *domestikos* of the right-hand choir became merged, and the *domestikos* of the left-hand choir came to be known as the *lampadarios*, a name perhaps derived from this cantor's traditional task of accompanying both the Emperor and the Patriarch with a lamp. See M. L. Clugnet, "Les Offices et les Dignités Ecclésiastiques dans l'Église Grecque," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1899): 117-118 & 125-126. For a comprehensive study of church offices see Jean Darrouzès, *Recherches sur les Ὀφφίκια de l'Église Byzantine* (Research on the "offices" of the Byzantine Church) (Paris: Institute Français d'Études Byzantines, 1970). See Lingas, "Sunday Matins," 227-228, on Symeon's system of alternating weeks for his choirs, and its roots in a 10th century *typikon* attributed to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

The sources for many of the *Office*'s hymns were traditional, ranging from the Children's canticles to the *kanons*.[40] In practice, however, the number that were actually written down or used varied widely; Velimirović notes that of the 20 verses in the "Prayer of Azariah," Athens 2406 (ca. 1453) only mentions three, and Iviron 1120 (ca. 1458) and Lavra 165 (17th century) only two.[41] This may not be as significant as it first appears, however; depending on which group the book is written for, the verses might only be included to indicate a change in mode, and might assume (in practice, if not explicitly written) that the whole canticle is sung. The wording in these manuscripts is ambiguous, however, and given the fact that both of the Children's canticles had already been sung during Orthros it is equally likely that some versions of the *Office* avoided needless repetition. Symeon's *Office*, however, includes nearly every verse from both canticles, and when his frequent insertions of *kanons* and *kratemata* are taken into account, his performance may have been three times as long as those in the other manuscripts.

Although the versions designed for the choir and lower clergy do not cite composers, two versions of the *Office* associated with the composer and choir leader Manuel Chrysaphes – Iviron 1120 and Lavra 165 -- cite names and offer an alternative musical setting for the narrative verse that accompanies the descent of the angel. Soloists were granted special "insider" knowledge of the *Office*'s workings; but there is evidence that other celebrants were free to pick hymns from their own

---

40 Complete versions of several hymns referred to in the *Office* can be found in Carsten Høeg, *The Hymns of the Hirmologion, Part I: The First Mode and the First Plagal Mode* (Cophenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1952).

41 Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 358. Both Iviron 1120 and Lavra 165 include Dan. 3:47 (LXX) during this early sequence, but it is merely a narrative passage describing the flames of the furnace, and is not counted here. Sinai 1527 agrees with Athens 2406 in its choice of (3) verses from the prayer proper.

repertoire: Sinai 1527 suggests three specific *kanons* at the end of the *Office*, with the instruction – "and others like these" – leaving it up to the performer(s) to choose the rest. This reinforces an understanding of the *Office* as a liturgical 'work-in-progress' that allowed ample room for local variants.

There was likewise room for variation in the distribution of verses among the performers. In keeping with its treatment in the Orthros, the "Prayer of Azariah" is referred to as an "antiphon," and both Symeon's *Office* and Sinai 1527 prescribe in detail the distribution of alternating verses between choir and children. But in some cases it is not clear whether the whole canticle was sung, and there is even disagreement about exactly who is supposed to start it: Symeon's version and Sinai 1527 give the children the opening verse, Iviron 1120 and Lavra 165 have the cantor begin the canticle, while Athens 2406 gives the opening verse to the choir.

There may be legitimate, liturgical explanations for these differences. With Iviron 1120 and Lavra 165, for instance, it is possible that either because of tradition or (at a more basic level) the choir's need for cues, the cantor had to be the first to establish the melody. On the other hand, Symeon's choice of children to begin the canticle might have created the perception that the choirboys were protagonists and not just singers. This disagreement on beginnings, in turn, reflects differences in the conduct of the *Office* as a whole; and the distribution of verses and hymns throughout the *Office* might have affected the congregation's interpretations of the performance.

The Cantors

In part because the Orthodox Church conducts its rites without musical instruments, the cantors' chief task is to establish the mode and melodic

characteristics of each hymn by giving out what the manuscripts variously called *ichimata*, *kathismata* or *apichema*, tuning motifs that give the choir a central note and/or cadential figure. Both Iviron 1120 and Lavra 165, written by and for cantors, call for tunings of this kind at several points during the *Office*, explicitly indicating changes in mode and melody during both the "Prayer of Azariah" and the "Song of the Three Children." Although Symeon calls for tunings only once, his frequent changes in mode during and after the canticles imply that his cantors were kept busy. Sinai 1527 only asks for tuning after both of the Children's canticles, when the cycle of canons begins. Athens 2406 refers to modes and changes in melody, and in so doing assumes that the cantors provided the tunings.

At its simplest, a tuning motif can consist simply of an extended, monotonic '*nai'* or "yes" to establish the pitch for the *ison* (the central note or "drone")[42] when the cantors prepare to sing a solo. When the choir sings the melody, and when a hymn calls for a change of mode or register midway through it, the cantor is responsible for providing more specific melodic information. In Athens 2406, Iviron 1120 and Sinai 1527, there is a change in the "Song of the Three Children" marked by the insertion of the word '*lege*,' the imperative form of the verb "to speak" or (in the context of chant) "to sing." The '*lege*' has musical notation and heralds the beginning of a new melody for the rest of the canticle in a higher register.[43] These

[42] There is now a wealth of recordings of Byzantine chant, where examples of various tuning strategies can be heard: for example, listen to Mount Athos, *Selection of Orthodox Chants Performed by Mount Athos Monks*, Sony SK60247, 1997, Compact Disk.
[43] See Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 361, for his transcription of this passage. Conscious encouragement of the performers, in the form of sung phrases like "Wisdom!" and "Let us be attentive," are a regular feature of Orthodox services to this day. See *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom* (Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1985).

conspicuous points of musical interpellation, where the choir pauses for tuning, have the effect of foregrounding the ensemble's presence as ritual performers.

The frequency of musical interventions by the cantor is highest in Iviron 1120, Manuel Chrysaphes' performance text; he not only sings the first verse of the "Prayer of Azariah," but he gives a special cue for a narrative passage (Dan. 3:48 (LXX)) describing the fire of the furnace. He also sings solos both for the descent of the angel (for which he himself wrote the melody) and before the beginning of the "Song of the Three Children." These interventions, clustered as they are around the visual climax of the action, would have reinforced Chrysaphes' position as the master of ceremonies. Thus in spite of its liturgical context, these interventions might have given his audience the impression that the *Office* was really about him.

This virtuoso aesthetic in Iviron 1120 might help to explain why the Constantinopolitan *Office* was performed after the liturgy, rather than before. Providing as it did a showcase for the court's finest singer/composers, a performance before the Divine Liturgy – then as now – would have found the church half-empty. A post-liturgical performance of the *Office* would have ensured the church would be filled with late-rising tourists and those among the faithful whose habit has always been to arrive just in time for communion. The emperor, seated conspicuously on a throne in the south aisle, would be in a position to show off the musical talents of his court to the widest possible audience. But deliberately removing the *Office* from its proper liturgical context would also have altered its reception, especially among outsiders like la Broquiere. And by in effect 'spectacularizing' what was supposed

to be a somber festal rite, the emperor and his choirs might have compromised the *Office*'s already shaky liturgical identity.

In Lavra 165 (produced some two hundred years after Iviron 1120) the cantor plays a reduced role, providing the tunings but little else; the hymns performed as solos by Chrysaphes are mentioned, but only in the passive voice. They are simply "sung," giving the impression that they may even have been sung by the choir. The author/copyist of Lavra 165, then, can be seen as crafting an *Office* in which the ensemble played a more prominent role.

Although not mentioned for the first half of the *Office*, Athens 2406 gives its cantors a prominent role during the "Song of the Three Children" by asking them to sing Dan. 3:88 (LXX) – "Bless the Lord, Ananiah, Azariah, Mishael" – a line that, in performance, appears to create a dialogue between the Children (not choirboys) and their narrators.[44] The children in Athens 2406 respond directly with the non-canonical "We praise, we bless, we venerate," which from a western perspective has the feel of performers addressing each other in their respective "stage" roles, not as celebrants. The cantors soon echo the children with their own expression of humility ("We submit, we bless . . ."), thus reinforcing the perception that they sing as narrators. In an Orthodox context, however, use of the first person plural is usually understood to refer to the whole congregation, not just the celebrants.[45]

The prominence of cantors in other versions of the *Office* is harder to discern: Symeon, who had two choirs at his disposal, has one cantor lead the children to him for his blessing and then into the furnace. Once the *Office* begins, however, they have

---

[44] As shall be addressed below, however, the choirboys (not the cantors) are given the key narrative verses in Athens 2406.
[45] The author would like to thank Dr. George Majeska for reminding him of this important distinction.

no special role until the "Song of the Three Children," and although they sing two verses from this last canticle, they do not sing the "narrator" verse, Dan. 3:88 (LXX), as in other versions. Symeon's cantors function primarily as musical directors, which leaves the aural and visual field open to focus more on the choir and children. Meanwhile, the cantors in Sinai 1527 are given no specific verses, implying an even smaller, more perfunctory role than in Symeon's version.

In each version of the *Office* the cantor assumed a specific role, ranging from Chrysaphes' Master of Ceremonies in Iviron 1120, to Athens 2406's narrator, to Sinai 1527's human tuning fork. The different rates and kinds of interventions cantors made would, in turn, have affected responses to the *Office* in performance. When led by a highly-trained soloist, the audience would be more likely to treat the *Office* as a musical event or concert; with the cantors explicitly taking the narrator's part, the audience may have experienced something close to western representational practice. When cantors served as discreet tuners and hand-wavers, the resulting ambience may have been much closer to the traditional liturgy.

The Choirs

All five versions of the *Office* call upon the choir to sing the same *idiomelon* (or "original composition") that covers the entrance of the children into the furnace; Sinai 1527 also asks the choir to escort the children while it is sung. The choir also has the traditional liturgical role of singing antiphonally during the "Prayer of Azariah," usually (but not always – see below) swapping verses and choruses with the children.

The manuscripts all have the choirs stand around the furnace for the performance, in accordance with the traditional arrangement of liturgical singers. The choirs and children would have been grouped together in and around the *ambo* for a practical reason: the need to take visual and aural cues from their cantors. Given the *ambo*'s position slightly east of the nave's center, the choir and children would have faced westward toward the bulk of the congregation; the cantors, most likely working from memory, may have faced west as well in front of the ensemble.[46]

The perception of these groups as celebrants or characters in a play would have depended at least initially on who began the "Prayer of Azariah." In Sinai 1527 and Athens 2406 the choir sings the first verse, and their subsequent exchange of verses with the children would create a more familiar, Orthros-like atmosphere. One version of the *Office* appears to have been written by a member of one choir; Athens 2406 uses the first person plural for two musical cues, which helps to visualize the distribution of verses and hymns among the two choirs.[47] The author's choir is responsible for the only *kratema* specifically mentioned in Athens 2406, sung during the "Prayer of Azariah;" and later, after the cantors mark the end of the "Song of the Three Children" by singing a *kanon* themselves, the author's choir appears to be responsible for all of the *kanons* (five of them, sung in four different, ascending

[46] This describes the orientation of contemporary Orthodox choirs, which usually stand around the cantor in a semi-circle, while the cantor works from the lectern or *analogia* in front of them. This enables the cantor to sing solos and give audible cues with a minimum of movement. For Byzantine images of singers in a formation analogous to the *Office* see Neil Moran, *Byzantine Singers*, ill. 7; the manuscript illumination has all the singers, to the left of an icon of Christ Pantocrator, facing outward toward the reader while the priests, to the right, face sideways towards an icon.
[47] The author also refers both to cantors and a choir apparently different from his own; barring some slippage between the first and third person in his writing, it would appear that the author is writing from the perspective of the second, or left-hand choir.

modes) to close out the *Office*. This distribution of hymns reflects the tradition of each choir taking responsibility for specific parts of the liturgical repertoire.

Athens 2406 describes a close musical connection among the children and the choirs. One choir begins the “Prayer of Azariah,” establishing the melody for the children, while the author’s choir sings a *kratema* in a melody “doubling,” i.e., echoing or imitating, the children. Upon completion of this *kratema*, all three groups sing the climactic, non-canonical verse “Blessed art Thou Lord, save us!” in unison, which cues the angel’s descent. Again, this kind of cooperation can be interpreted as traditional and liturgical, but can also be seen as dramatic in that both choirs echo and enlarge upon the Children’s martyrdom.

With Symeon’s *Office*, the role of the choir appears initially to be more traditional, and it is clear which verses of the canticles – sung antiphonally and in their entirety – belong to them. The choir also routinely interrupts the flow of the canticles with *kanons* and *kratema*, providing commentary on the significance of the action. As in Athens 2406, the choir sings one *kratema* to echo the children, and this *kratema* is immediately followed by the non-canonical verse, “Blessed art Thou Lord, save us,” sung by all in unison. But instead of coming at the end of the “Prayer of Azariah,” in Symeon’s *Office* this verse comes in the middle of it, dampening its potentially dramatic effect.

There are points during Symeon’s *Office* when liturgical form dissolves momentarily into a more drama-like scheme. The choir sings the verse narrating the descent of the angel, which seems to position them as narrators. This perception is undermined, however, when the children (in true antiphonal style) immediately

follow with the next narrative verses (on this effect, see the next section). But later when the choir sings the biblical narrator's verse "Bless the Lord, Ananiah, Azariah, Mishael" (Dan. 3:88 (LXX)), the children respond with the non-canonical "We praise, we bless, we venerate the Lord," as if to confirm the narrator/protagonist relationship. Symeon's method of verse distribution, from a western perspective, can be seen as one that toys with dramatic enactment and, at least momentarily, undermines his liturgical intentions.

Not all versions of the *Office* share Symeon's approach; Iviron 1120, Lavra 165 and Sinai 1527 give no specific assignment for the verses on the descent of the angel, or the narrator's address to the Children (Dan. 3.49 & 3.88 (LXX)). And the children's non-canonical response to Dan. 3:88 (LXX), which in both Athens 2406 and Symeon's *Office* creates the impression of a dramatic representation, is not even mentioned in these manuscripts. Manuel Chrysaphes in particular, as a court composer in Constantinople, would have been aware of the interchange between choir and children, so that its exclusion from his *Office* indicates a specific liturgical (or aesthetic) choice.

Positioned as they are practically side-by-side, the relationship between the choirs and children is one that has its own dynamic in each version of the *Office*. In Symeon's version, there is a potential from one moment to the next for that relationship to shift perceptibly from ritual celebration to dramatic representation. Moreover, even though perceptions of representation may be fleeting, a single moment can create the impression that the whole *Office* is a western-style representation of the biblical story. But not all versions agree on the distribution of

crucial, potentially "dramatic" verses, nor do they agree on the presence and placement of musical materials such as *kanons*, *kratema* and non-canonical verses that might tilt audience perceptions in one direction or the other.

The Children

Symeon states the Three Children were "modeled" in the *Office* by choirboys, a choice that can be seen as a deliberate departure from western practice. Musically speaking, the boy's upper register had been dominant in the Orthodox liturgy for over one thousand years: *castrati* had sung in Orthodox services since John Chrysostom's time, and even if their role in Late Byzantine ritual had been reduced, the Church's taste for high voices remained.

Once in the *ambo*, determining whether the choirboys are characters in a drama is problematic for reasons that have been addressed above. The prominence of the cantors in some versions, and the alternation of verses with the choir in others, do not present a consistent case; and four versions of the *Office* have either the cantors or the choir beginning the canticles proper, further de-centering the action.

Both Athens 2406 and Symeon's *Office* (from the 15th century) have the choir echo the choirboy's voices, a choice rooted in musical aesthetics but one that can be seen as highlighting the boys' presence as biblical characters. One melodic motif in particular – a cadence that begins with an ascending seventh and ends with a descending sixth, for the last two words of the non-canonical "Blessed art Thou Lord, save us" – is repeated several times in Athens 2406.[48] Because the lyrics comment on the biblical Children's situation, the repetition could focus attention on the soloists' status as characters.

[48] See Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 358 for a transcription of this passage.

In Symeon's *Office* (and only in his *Office*) the children themselves begin the first canticle, the "Prayer of Azariah;" in so doing, they create the perception that they are protagonists from the very beginning. The numerous *kanons* and *kratema* Symeon inserts between the canticles' verses may have been deliberate interruptions of the narrative flow, intended to distract from this initial impression. But Symeon's choice to have the choirboys sing the non-canonical response to Dan. 3:88 (LXX), "We praise, we bless, we venerate," gives the impression that his choirboys did more than "model" or "typify" the Children – they represented them. In this way Symeon, a great champion of Orthodoxy, reveals himself as a man of cosmopolitan liturgical tastes who was willing to take risks in performance. His upbringing in Constantinople and his experience of the festal offices in Hagia Sophia there might have inspired Symeon to push the boundaries of Orthodox ritual performance.[49]

The radical nature of Symeon's approach becomes more evident when compared with other versions of the *Office*. Athens 2406 has the choir begin the canticles, and specifically calls upon the children to sing the narrative verse describing the descent of the angel. This moment, if performed in a modern-day setting, would call to mind Bertolt Brecht's theory of *Verfremdungseffekt*, in which the performer adopts the position of an observer of her/his character's story.[50] The effect in a Byzantine liturgical context might have been equally alienating; the perception that the *Office* represents the biblical episode would have been tempered by the soloists' positions as narrators of their own story.

[49] Lingas ("Sunday Matins," 15) notes as much, citing one of Symeon's editors (Phountoules) who came to much the same conclusion. Symeon's reforms affected the entire liturgical corpus, of which the *Office* is but one small example.
[50] See Bertolt Brecht, "Alienation Effects in Chinese Acting," in *Brecht on Theatre*, trans. John Willett (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964) 91-99.

The self-presentation of the children, apart from their choreography (discussed below), becomes more discreet in successive versions of the Office. Although Iviron 1120 (ca. 1458) and Sinai 1527 (16th century) call upon the children to sing antiphonally with the choir during the “Prayer of Azariah,” they do not begin the hymns, and have no special solos or climactic verses to sing that would call special attention to them. And Lavra 165 (17th century), although describing the canticles as antiphonal, does not call upon the “children” to sing, giving directions to only the cantor and choir. This last omission may have been an oversight, but it is possible that the absence of singing children here was intentional. And the later, monastic origin of the Lavra 165 provides a plausible explanation: this *Office* may have been designed for the monastic community in Mount Athos itself, where boys have not been allowed to visit (let alone perform) since the community's foundation. With adult monks “modeling” on behalf of the Three Children, there would have been no need to distinguish their mature voices from the rest of the ensemble.

Summary

A survey of the *Office*'s extant versions show that instructions for each of the three groups of singers are far from consistent, and the differences in many instances might result in very different audience perceptions of the performers' relationships to each other. These differences, moreover, can be understood as choices rooted in the position of the author, the available resources where the *Office* was performed, as well as the author's own ritual aesthetic.

Audience interpretations of the *Office*, however, might be influenced even more by its visual aspects; and there are even more radical differences in how authors

of the *Office* crafted its choreography and spectacle. Traditionally, Orthodoxy's theology of the icon implied an avoidance of realistic representation in favor of a more structured, "typic" form of sacred imagery. Symeon's comparison between Latin and Byzantine practice shows that he created his *Office* with an awareness of what constituted drama in his time; and he claims to have avoided the west's "innovations." In the next section, however, evidence will emerge that even Symeon's choices may have been regarded as too radical by those who conducted the *Office* after his time.

Choreography, Spectacle & Controversy

In his recent study of the *Office of the Three Children*, Alexander Lingas notes that although in many respects it appears to adhere to traditional Orthodox liturgical practice, two visual aspects would have caused problems:

> The modern Orthodox Christian would conceivably be scandalized by only two dramatic details of the play: the point at which an image of an angel is lowered over the children, and the subsequent "dance" of the latter in the symbolic furnace.[51]

Having established the latent dramatic tendencies in the *Office*'s music, it remains to consider the degree to which the descent of the icon-angel and the subsequent "dance" of the children in the furnace would have caused any concern. The *Office* had already inspired accusations of hypocrisy, as indicated by Symeon himself; evidence of controversy within the Orthodox community, however, has yet to be explored.

At first glance there appears to be general agreement on the visual elements of the *Office*: in nearly every version the children enter the furnace, bow three times to

[51] Lingas, "Liturgical Place and Origins, " 2.

the East – the traditional act of *proskynesis* or “worship” – and remain there for the rest of the performance. The descent of the angel occurs during the singing of Dan. 3:49 (LXX); and during the “Song of the Three Children” that follows, Symeon, Athens 2406, Iviron 1120 and Lavra 165 all direct the children to “dance” inside the furnace, their hands and eyes held upward. The number of times when the children are instructed to dance, and whether they are asked to dance and sing at the same time, varies, but the visual impression of both the ‘flying’ angel and the “dancing” and singing children can be seen from a Western perspective as at least para-liturgical, if not outright representational and dramatic.

The Angel’s Descent

Although four versions of the *Office* call for an angel to descend into the furnace, there are no special effects associated with it. There is no evidence of special lighting or (as with the “Miracle” at Blachernae) any tapestry used to hide the icon from view. This implies that the angel is constantly visible, so that its descent (from the viewer’s perspective) involves a relatively minor vertical adjustment. Being an icon the angel does not speak; and unlike its treatment in Romanos’ *kontakion*, none of the ensemble sings on its behalf either. The result, however spectacular or representational this moment may appear, is that the *Office*’s visual elements constitute a distinct form of visual citation, distinct from the portrayals of angels in western representations of the Annunciation, for example – with a human

archangel Gabriel talking, flying over the heads of the audience, and flapping fake wings.[52]

Given the western tradition of angelic representation the presence of a mute, two-dimensional figure, in the midst of singing and "dancing" three-dimensional performers, creates a bifurcation of experience that seems deliberate. The expectation of a "real" angel descending into a "real" furnace is disrupted by the explicit use of a different medium. When coupled with the rejection of scenic realism (through the use of an ambo for the "furnace"), the experience would have been distinct from that of a theatrical representation of the story.

The visual effect created by the descent of a deacon-angel into a furnace with three choirboys is, by design, complex in its symbolism; ideally, this field would have engaged the viewer in a multi-level mode of contemplation where the *Office* brings to mind the eternal heavenly liturgy, with the performance and its prototype commingling, referring or reflecting back upon each other. This process of modeling through performance seems rooted not in a desire to cite the Three Children's story but to re-position the episode so that it becomes "a kind of epiphany," as one critic of would have it. The goal would be to link the episode's narrative, through the performance's complex imagery, with the emanations of the divine, while also

[52] This is how Gabriel is portrayed in the *sacra rappresentazione* of the Annunciation performed at the Council in Florence in 1439, roughly contemporary with the *Office of the Three Children*. In addition to Orville K. Larson's translation, "Bishop Abraham of Souzdal's Description of 'Sacre Rappresentazioni.'" *Educational Theatre Journal* 9 (1957): 208-213, there is now a new, more complete translation and analysis: see Nerida Newbigin, *Feste d'Oltrarno: Plays in Churchs in Fifteenth-Century Florence* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1996), 1.1-43. The author would like to thank Dr. Thomas Pallen for providing him with the last reference, and an electronic copy of the materials.

honoring the physical elements that have been articulated into a performance in honor of the heavenly Children.[53]

In theological terms, the distinction between Byzantine and Western practice described here can be also understood as the distinction between idol and icon, between the west's literal and the east's metaphorical aesthetic of performance. Jean-Luc Marion, in his treatise *God and Being*, defines the idol as a mirror of man's already-narrowed vision of divinity, designed (in effect) to make as few demands on the mind as possible. As long as the idolator's mind does not wander outside a small, self-indulgent circle of reality-based art, the dominant social order remains intact. The viewer's relationship with an icon, however, is constructed by Marion (and the Orthodox) as dynamic; by design the icon demands active personal engagement on the part of the viewer.[54] In the icon's presence, the viewer is expected to empty the mind of thoughts about temporal authority or art, and focus on the icon's spiritual prototype.

One last, practical consideration in interpreting the descent of the angel – and the Office as a whole – is its intended audience, who were among the most educated, powerful members of the urban Orthodox elite. Robert Browning has argued that even the Orthodox laity benefited from at least a primary school education, which would have included the Septuagint Bible (and the Three Children) in its lessons.[55]

---

[53] For an account of the imaginative reinforcement of sacrality through the cult of images see Gilbert Dagron, "Holy Images and Likeness," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 23-33. For Dagron's concept of iconography as "epiphany" see "Holy Images and Likeness," 33.
[54] Jean-Luc Marion, *God without Being*, trans. Thomas A. Carlson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 7-22.
[55] See Robert Browning, "Literacy in the Byzantine World," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 4 (1978): 39-54. As Browning notes, "The situation is very different from that of most western medieval societies, where the literate formed an estate and a sociological group distinguished by their whole pattern of life from the non-literate mass" ("Literacy," 52).

In the west, the Catholic Church had incorporated representational elements into regular services, and even sanctioned monks and clergy to assuming the roles of biblical characters. As a little-cited passage from St. Ethelwold's *Regularis Concordia* makes clear, the consecration of the 'tomb' on Good Friday, and the performance of the "Quem Quaeritis" had a primarily didactic purpose:

> Now since on that day we solemnize the burial of the Body of our Saviour, if anyone should care or think fit to follow in a becoming manner certain religious men in a practice worthy to be imitated *for the strengthening of the faith of unlearned common persons or neophytes*, [ad fidem indocti vulgi ac neophytorum corroborandam], we have decreed this only: on that part of the altar where there is space for it there shall be a representation as it were of a sepulcher.[56]

Ethelwold indicates that if it weren't for the presence of uncomprehending masses at monastic services, the "Quem Quaeritis" would not have been necessary. The *Office*'s performers, by contrast, assumed literacy and familiarity with the biblical story; this freed them from the obligation to teach the basics, so that they could use their rite to facilitate a contemplation of the episode's higher, spiritual meaning.

From an Orthodox perspective, the history of western sacred drama is one of increasing vulgarization through the introduction of realistic spectacle designed to educate and propagandize a largely illiterate lay audience. This Western mode of education baffled Orthodox clergy, who not only taught the Bible but routinely translated it into the vernacular for new converts, even providing alphabets when necessary.

[56] Ethelwold, *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* , trans. Dom Thomas Symons (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1953), 44, emphasis mine. Kobialka stresses internal monastic elements in the development of "Quem Quaeritis," but this passage indicates such enactments may have been designed for either outsiders or new arrivals at the monastery.

The *Office* was performed for a Byzantine lay audience that knew the Children and, in many cases, knew their canticles by heart. Moreover, thanks to Catholics and Orthodox having lived in close proximity to each other since at least the Fourth Crusade if not earlier, Orthodox laity also had first-hand knowledge of the west's representational practices. In this context, it is unlikely that an educated Byzantine audience would have needed, let alone been taken in by the paltry spectacle of a flat angel dangling at the end of a rope. It is more likely, as mentioned above, that the vertical alignment of the icon was designed to invoke divine protection for the sacred space of Hagia Sophia itself, as well as the faithful who gathered in it.

The "Dance" of the Children

Although the references to "dance" in four versions of the *Office* paint a vivid picture in the Western mind, dance in the context of an Orthodox service would have been a somber affair. The static posture called for in the *Office*'s "dances," moreover, is not conducive to elaborate choreography: the versions of the *Office* that call for dance instruct the children to raise their hands and eyes upward. This gesture, although in harmony with the iconography, severely limits the children's mobility. Standing in the *ambo*, their hands and eyes constantly directed upward, and (in Symeon's case especially) expected to sing at the same time, exactly what moves were these children expected to make?

In the biblical account of this episode, Nebuchanazzar sees the Children and the angel walking around inside the furnace.[57] This circular walk is what constitutes "dance" in the Greek Orthodox tradition: the rubrics for the Orthodox wedding

[57] Dan. 3:25 (RSV).

ceremony and the rites of ordination for deacons and priests specifically call for three circular walks, each with their own symbolism.[58] Given the Book of Daniel's reference to walking, the sight of such a "dance" might, to some degree, constitute a representation of the Children. But in Orthodox eyes its conservative movements would also be aligned, mentally, with traditional, liturgical dance.

What detracts further from a dramatic reading of the choirboy's dance is the presence of the icon. An Orthodox audience would have known that a "real" angel in a western version of the story, would have sung and danced with the Children; so the icon's mute, static presence among singing, dancing choirboys would have invited the congregation to focus more on their symbolism.

Liturgical dances (like liturgical actions in general) were positioned as reflecting eternal, heavenly events. Symeon, in describing the songs and dances of the ordination ceremony, refers to Christian martyrs as "co-dancers" (*synchoreutes*), and to Christ as the Master of Ceremonies; the angels, too, are understood to dance with the clergy at moments like these.[59] The presence of the icon-angel amid living, moving choirboys can be seen as one way to convey this mystical concept of liturgical dance; so the *Office*'s aural mixture of canticles, *kanons* and *kratemata* is complemented by mortals celebrating with an immortal chorus.

---

[58] See Hapgood, *Service Book*, 300 (for the wedding dance), 311 & 316 (for the dances of ordination for deacons and priests). The wedding couple walk behind the priest, with the groomsmen holding the wedding crowns over the couple's heads, while in the case of ordination, the circles around the sanctuary altar are each heralded by different hymns, with the third – "Rejoice, Isaiah!" -- being perhaps the most famous. See also see Evangelos Theodorou, "La Danse sacrée dans le culte Chrétien et plus spécialement dans la famille liturgique Byzantine (Sacred dance in Christian cult, most especially in the Byzantine liturgical family)," in *Gestes et Paroles Dans les Diverses Familles Liturgiques* (Gestures and Discourses among Diverse Liturgical Families) (Rome: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano, 1978), 297-299.

[59] Theodorou, "La Danse sacrée," 298.

As mentioned above, however, Symeon toys with the idea of the choirboys as representations of the Children, and this is even more evident during the dancing sequence. Symeon asks them to stretch out their hands as in prayer, turn their eyes toward the icon and dance the moment the angel descends, and asks them to sing a narrative passage (Dan. 3:50 (LXX)), which in theory would position them as celebrants, not characters. But then he undermines the boys' status as celebrants by telling them to sing non-canonical verses in which they appear to refer to themselves as the Children – "We bless the Father and the Son and Holy Spirit." Symeon's choreography, when combined with his distribution of verses could be easily misinterpreted by western audiences – particularly those unfamiliar with the Orthodox tradition of liturgical dance, and unfamiliar with the congregational sense of the first person plural.

Because of the relatively high level of education among Byzantine church-goers, spiritual interpretations of the *Office* would have been more common among the laity than not. Even the use of the first person plural – the choirboys' "We praise, we bless, we bow before the Lord" – would have been understood as a traditional response on behalf of the whole congregation. But Western audiences could not be expected to grasp the *Office* at this level: accustomed to didactic, realistic re-enactments of biblical stories, they would have been more likely to ignore the subtleties of Orthodox liturgical practice, and focus on the elements that appealed to their sense of dramatic representation; and Symeon, unfortunately, provided them with ample opportunity to associate his *Office* with their sacred plays.

Signs of Controversy

From Symeon's time onward, the *Office of the Three Children* underwent a number of changes, some of them radical. Although Athens 2406 (ca. 1453) generally agrees with Symeon's instructions, its "Brechtian" moment when the children narrate the descent of the angel marks a break from the archbishop's staging techniques. And not every version of the *Office* calls for the children to sing and dance; Iviron 1120 (ca. 1458) and Lavra 165 (17th century), for example, ask the children to "dance" without singing. Sinai 1527 (16th century) takes this one step further; its version of the *Office* makes no mention of an angel, and the children are given no choreography whatsoever – they are not asked to raise their hands or eyes, let alone dance. The static nature of the *Office* in Sinai 1527 renders it little different from a performance of the Orthros, so it is doubtful that western eyewitnesses of the Sinai *Office* would think they had seen a *mystère*.

Now, it could be argued that Sinai 1527 is either a "bad" copy, or a distinct tradition designed for a smaller church that couldn't fully realize the *Office*'s performance. But a facsimile of Sinai 1527 at the Library of Congress reveals no lacunae or corrupted text, and the omission of so many elements found in other versions of the *Office* makes it difficult to attribute their absence to clerical error. Moreover, it is doubtful that a church would have had the means for choir, soloists, and a "furnace," but no pulpit, no chains in the nave for hanging liturgical lamps, and no icon of the archangel Michael in its possession.

The dating of these versions of the *Office*, and their disagreements about choreography and spectacle, make for a very awkward chronology because the *Office*

appears to shed its ‘dramatic’ elements rather than add to them. Symeon’s *Office*, composed ca. 1417-1429, is the closest to being explicitly dramatic, while Athens 2406 (ca. 1453) may reflect a revised performance of Symeon’s *Office* one generation after his death. Chrysaphes (who composed Iviron 1120 ca. 1458) effectively mutes the children by stripping them of their non-canonical, first-person lines, and by the time of Sinai 1527 (16th century), the *Office* has been stripped of all spectacle and become a purely musical work. Even when the *Office* resurfaces in Lavra 165 in the 17th century and in something like its old form, with an icon dropping in and “children” dancing once again, the “Children” in the furnace (being men most likely) have no specific verses to sing.

Even allowing for differences in venue and resources, it is evident that over a period of three centuries there were disagreements – some of them serious – about what the *Office*’s most salient characteristics ought to be. The shuffling of verses among various performers, the presence or absence of the angel, the “dance” or stillness of the children, and the element of first-person address (or lack thereof), indicate that the elements that would have looked most familiar to Western audiences also caused the greatest anxiety among the Office’s authors. Symeon’s response to Latin critics of his *Office* also be seen as an admission that his elaborate version had generated some controversy. And the gradual retreat over time from spectacle and explicit representation can be read, at least in part, as a reaction against Symeon’s radical reform of this Late Byzantine urban rite.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to demonstrate the unique features of the Orthodox ritual aesthetic, and its antagonism for the theatre, as Orthodoxy developed its rights throughout the history of the Eastern Roman Empire. Although the popular imagination continues to see the Liturgy as a piece of "spectacle" or "theatre," the evidence presented here offers a very different understanding of the Liturgy's roots and purposes. The spatial practice of the Orthodox rite was derived from the dynamics of the imperial basilica, not the Hellenistic stage; the *templon* screen, although in some sense comparable to a Hellenistic stage-front, is such a late innovation that it may not even be Byzantine in origin and at any rate does not become common until centuries after the theatres had been closed and converted to other uses.

Given the traditional Jewish and Christian disdain for *hypocrisia*, "play-acting," it is hardly surprising that there is little evidence to support previous scholars' arguments for amateur theatrics during the conduct of the Liturgy. Celebrants consistently avoided the element of enactment, particularly during the Eucharistic service where Christ's words and actions at the Last or Mystical Supper are commemorated. And the rules for rhetorical display, established in antiquity and taught to male citizens throughout Byzantium's history, were quite distinct from those for traditional actors; so that although *ethopoeia*, "characterization," was a standard rhetorical device in Byzantine homilies, it is highly unlikely that Orthodox clergy would have enacted scenes from the *ambo*, even as epic-style narrators of biblical stories.

The Byzantine penchant for allegorical and spiritual interpretations of the Liturgy manifests itself especially in the Orthodox Church's understanding of music. Having inherited a complex art form from Antiquity, music in Byzantium became an increasingly dominant form of liturgical performance and was understood – even at the level of technical vocabulary – as a form of prayer and spiritual communion. And the Late Byzantine spiritual movement of Hesychasm, with its emphasis on the inexpressible nature of the Almighty, provided an even firmer theological basis for traditional, multi-layered interpretations of Orthodox ritual. With the increased sophistication of Late Byzantine hymnography, as composed by court composers who performed both inside and outside the church, the question arises whether chanters wrote and sang for the love of God, or to impress listeners with their skills.

The consistency with which Orthodoxy avoided traditional theatre practices can be contrasted with developments in the Catholic Mass during the Middle Ages. With its privileging of ocular communion and the introduction of the elevation of the Eucharistic species in sync with the *Verba Domini*, Catholic priests came to rely increasingly on representational acts that bordered on enactment. Even if there can be no direct link drawn between liturgical reforms and the development of "sacred representations" (i.e., plays) in the west, the two nevertheless developed together; and Orthodoxy's reaction to both was negative.

It is in this context of different ritual aesthetics, and different approaches to representations of the sacred, that the debate over the Late Byzantine *Office of the Three Children* must be situated. To this day, the question of the *Office*'s status as drama or ritual continues to generate controversy, with western scholars favoring the

term "drama" and Greek scholars often stressing its ritual characteristics.[60] The present analysis of extant versions of the *Office* offers a third possible reading: that it was a locus of intense creative activity that allowed for any number of different iterations and interpretations.

Disagreements on the most basic elements of the *Office*, from its distribution of verses to its visual elements, render a definitive answer to the question, "was it a drama?" difficult to answer except on a case-by-case basis, with the added complication that the cultural background of each viewer/reader might pre-determine the answer, regardless of which version of the *Office* is presented. The variations found in the manuscript tradition of the *Office*, moreover, serve to erode the myth of ritual uniformity or "tradition" in the Orthodox world. What emerges instead is the human element in Late Byzantine ritual, with a variety of considerations – ritual aesthetics, personal taste, available talent, performance spaces and times – impinging on each version. These elements, in turn, make it possible to understand why such diametrically opposed interpretations of the *Office* are possible both then and now.

Specific objections can now be raised to Velimirović's classification of the *Office of the Three Children* as a "liturgical drama;" although the *Office* does bear a superficial resemblance to a drama (as understood by modern medieval scholars), in design and practice it bears little resemblance to western representational practices in Late Byzantine times. Even Archbishop Symeon's *Office*, at its most extravagant, is

[60] One anecdote will suffice here: shortly after he published his article on the *Office*, Miloš Velimirović had the opportunity to meet the distinguished Greek scholar Nicolaos Tomadakis. Velimirović showed him a copy of his article and Tomadakis, glancing at its title – "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia" – asked him what the *Office* was called in the manuscripts. Velimirović said, "*akolouthia"*(Office), whereupon Tomadakis said firmly that *akoloutheia* may have many meanings, but "drama" was not one of them – dramas are Western, not Byzantine. To avoid further unpleasantness, Velimirović thanked Tomadakis for his time and withdrew (private correspondence with Miloš Velimirović, March 2005).

rooted in a direct experience of Medieval western practice, and a conscious effort to avoid its most controversial aspects.

A comparative, chronological reading of the five versions of the *Office* reveals substantial disagreement on even the most basic details of its performance, with a seemingly steady retreat from the elements of spectacle and choreography that marked Symeon's more elaborate *Office*. Symeon, by his own admission, took some risks; but these were the risks of a monk born and raised in Constantinople, and his regular attendance at Hagia Sophia – where the *Office* was an annual event from at least his childhood days -- would have informed his tastes for a more sophisticated approach to ritual.

Symeon's liturgical experiments, however, came at a time when Thessalonica was in serious political, economic and religious turmoil. He had the unenviable task of directing a congregation torn apart by calls for capitulation to the Pope or conversion to Islam. Seen as a product of its own time, then, Symeon's *Office* was a rite devoted to the all-too-timely theme, as first expressed by the Hellenistic Jews who wrote the Childrens' canticles, of remaining true to one's faith when under siege. Symeon's *Office* may have been extreme in its approach to ritual, but it reflected the extremity of his congregation's situation.

It still remains unclear how or why the Orthodox Church, after its brief alleged flirtation with drama in the *Office*, eventually rejected these practices and never sanctioned the enactment of biblical episodes.[61] Whatever the reason, the ritual aesthetic and the theology of ritual performance developed in Early Byzantine times has remained the standard by which western theatrical practices are still judged in the Orthodox world.

[61] Recent studies have confirmed that a revival in Greek dramatic literature occurs in the context of western influence, particularly in the post-Byzantine period. See Walter Puchner, "Jesuit Theatre on the Islands of the Aegean Sea," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 21 (2003): 207-222.

Appendix 1: The Office of the Three Children, Athens 4027

Instructions for Conduct of the Office
As found in MS 2047, National Library of Athens, *ca*. 1416-1429 C.E.

[219r] ἀκολουθία τῆς καμίνου.[1]

Office of the furnace.

[219v] μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὄρθρου, εὐτρεπισθέντων τῶν παίδων, ἤτοι ἠλλαγμένων ὄντων καὶ λαμπαδηφορούντων, λαμβάνων ταῦτα ὁ δομέστικος τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ προσάγει· καὶ λαμβάνουσιν εὐλογίαν· εἶτα καὶ ἀσκεπὴς ὤν, ἐκφωνεῖ, Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα· μετὰ μέλους. Καὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐκφωνεήσαντος ἐκ τοῦ στασιδίου αὐτοῦ, τὸ Εὐλογημένη ἡ Βασιλεῖα, ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλται τοῦ παρόντος στιχήρου, εἰς ἦχον Β′.

Πνευματικῶς ἑμᾶς πιστοί, συνήγαγε σήμερον· ὁ Προφήτης Δανιήλ· καὶ τράπεζαν προτίθεσιν ἀρετῶν δαψιλῆ· πλουσίοις καὶ πένησι, καὶ ξένοις καὶ αὐτόχθοσι· καὶ κρατῆρα νοητόν, προχέοντα νᾶμα εὐσεβείας· καὶ εὐφραίνοντα καρδίας πιστῶν· καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου χάριν παρέχοντα· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ προφήτης· ὁ φανότατος λύχνος· ὁ λάμψας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τὰ σεβάσματα πάντα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων καθεῖλε· καὶ θηρῶν ἀτιθάσων στόματα ἔφραξε· σὺν τοῦτο, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς παῖδες εὐφημείσθωσαν· οὐ χρυσοῖ τὴν φύσιν ὄντες· καὶ χρυσίου δοκιμώτεροι δεινύμενοι· οὐ γὰρ ἐχωνευσεν αὐτοὺς τὸ πῦρ τῆς καμίνους ἀλλ' ἐφύλαξεν ἀκεραίους· οὗς νάπθα καὶ πίσσα καὶ κληματίδες ἔστεψαν· ὁ δὲ ἀγαγὼν ἡμᾶς· εἰς τὴν περίοδον τοῦ χρόνου Κύριος, ἀξιώσαι ἡμᾶς φθάσαι· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κυρίαν καὶ σεβασμίαν ἡμέραν τῶν γενεθλίων Χηριστοῦ·

After the end of Matins, the children made ready, i.e., being changed and bearing lamps, the cantor leading them, he brings them before the Archbishop;[2] and they receive [his] blessing; and next, bare-headed, he intones *"Blessed Lord"* according to the [traditional] tune. And the Archbishop having intoned from his throne the *"Blessed be the Kingdom,"* the choir begins the present song in the second [authentic] mode:

"The Prophet Daniel has brought us faithful together spiritually, and he has laid out the table with an abundance of virtues for the wealthy man and laborer, for the foreigner and native; and a vessel of the spirit, pouring forth a stream of reverence; and gladdening the heart of the faithful, and providing the grace of the Holy Spirit; For he is a prophet, the brightest lamp, shining on the world; he purged all the idols of the Assyrians; and he guarded against the mouths of the wild beasts, and the three children with him were honored with praise; not being gold in nature, and [yet] revealing themselves more valuable than gold; For the fire of the furnace did not smelt them but kept them unharmed; naphtha and pitch and kindling surrounded them; he has brought us [together]; the Lord, in the course of time first thought us worthy on the supreme and awesome day of Christ's birth;

[1] The present transcription is based on Dr. Alexander Lingas' unpublished work and direct consultation of Athens 2407.

[2] Lit., "high priest."

τοῦ παρέχοντος ἡμῖν· ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱκεσίαις· ἱλασμὸν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τὸ μέγα ἔλεος.

revealing to us, his suppliants, propitiation and great mercy for [our] sins.

Τούτου δὲ ψαλλομένου, εἰσέρχονται οἱ παῖδες εἰς τὴν τυπικὴν κάμινον· καὶ τοῦ στιχήρου τελεσθέντος, ἄρχονται τὰ τῆς ᾠδῆς οἱ παῖδες οὕτως·

And while singing this, the children go into the typic furnace; and when the verse ends, the children begin the [verses] of the ode thus:

τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν· καὶ ἐπισυνάπτουσι τὸν στίχον·

"*[God] of our fathers*;"[3] and they begin anew the verse:

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ αἰνετὸν, καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τούς αἰῶνας· καί πάλιν Τῶν πατέρων·

"Blessed art thou Lord God of our fathers, thy glorious name be praised forever" And again *"[God] of our fathers."*

καὶ ψάλλεται ἡ ᾠδὴ ὅλη ἡ ἐβδόμη οὕτως. Τῶν ψαλτῶν λεγόντων ἕνα στίχον καὶ Τῶν πατέρων· καὶ οἱ τῶν παίδων ὁμοίως ἕτερον στίχον καὶ Τῶν πατέρων· εἰσὶ καὶ ἄλλα δύο μικρὰ τῶν πατέρων· ἅ καὶ ψάλλον ἐναα λλ[αξ]τε τω καὶ τῶν [. . .]

And the whole seventh ode is sung thus: the choir sings one verse and *"[God] of our fathers:"* and the children [sing] similarly another verse and "*[God] of our fathers*:" And yet there are two little *"[God] of our fathers,"* which they also sing antiphonally and then also . . .[4]

Οἱ ψάλται, Ὅτι δίκαιους εἶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐποίησας ἡμῖν· καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου ἀληθινά, καὶ εὐθεῖαι αἱ ὁδοί σου· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὑπερύμνητε·

The choir, *"How just art thou in all things you have done to us, and truthful all your works, and righteous your ways; [God] of our fathers, praise.*[5]

Οἱ παῖδες· Καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ κρίσεις σου ἀληθεῖς· καὶ κρίματα ἀληθείας ἐποίησας· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὑπερύμνητε·

The children*, "And true all your decisions; and you have made your judgments truthfully; [God] of our fathers, praise.*

Κατὰ πάντα ἅ ἐπήγαγες ἡμῖν· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν τὴν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἱερουσαλήμ· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

In all that you have brought upon us, and upon the holy city of our fathers, Jerusalem; [God] of our fathers.

[3] An abbreviation for Dan. 3.25 (LXX).
[4] The last part of this marginal text is obscured by what appears to be a medieval pepper seed. Symeon seems to refer to two different choruses, one from Dan 3.25 (LXX) and another whose complete lyrics are found in Athens 2406 (Appendix 2).
[5] The alternative chorus – see Appendix 2.

Ὅτι ἐν ἀληθεῖα καὶ κρίσει ἐπήγαγες ταῦτα πάντα ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν· Τῶν [πατέρων]

Ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν καὶ ἠνομήσαμεν ἀποστῆναι ἀπό σου· καὶ ἐξημάρτομεν ἐν πᾶσι· καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν σου οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Οὐδὲ συνετηρήσαμεν· οὐδὲ ἐποιήσαμεν καθὼς ἐντείλω ἡμῖν, ἵνα εὖ ἡμῖν γένηται· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησας ἡμῖν· καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἐπήγαγες ἡμῖν, ἐν ἀληθινῇ κρίσει ἐποίησας· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

[220r] Καὶ παρέδωκας ἡμᾶς, εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν ἀνόμων, ἐχθίστων ἀποστατῶν· καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀδίκῳ καὶ πονηροτάτῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν· Τῶν πατέρων

Καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα· αἰσχύνη καὶ ὄνειδος ἐγενήθημεν τοῖς δούλοις σου καὶ τοῖς σεβομένοις σε· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Μὴ δὴ παραδῴς ἡμᾶς εἰς τέλος διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου· καὶ μὴ διασκεδάσῃς τὴν διαθήκην σου· καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσῃς τὸ ἔλεός σου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν.

Μετὰ τοῦτον τὸν στίχον, ψάλλουσι τὸ Δι’ Ἀβραὰμ, οἱ ψάλται, εἰς ἦχον πλ. Β′

Δι’ Ἀβραὰμ τὸν ἠγαπημένον ὑπὸ σοῦ· καὶ Ἰσαὰκ τὸν δοῦλον σου· καὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸν ἅγιόν σου.

Καὶ λέγουσι τὸν παρόντον εἱρμόν, μετὰ τῶν ἠχημάτων αὐτοῦ·

Because in truth and judgment you have brought all these things upon us, because of our sins: [God of our fathers].

How we have sinned and acted lawlessly rebelling against you; and we have sinned utterly in everything, and we have not heeded your commandments; [God] of our fathers.

Nor have we kept close guard, nor done as you commanded us, so that it would be well for us; [God] of our fathers.

And all you have done to us and all you have brought upon us, you have done in truthful judgment; [God] of our fathers.

And you delivered us into the hands of lawless enemies, the most hated rebels, and to the most unjust and wicked king in all the world;[God] of our fathers.

And now we cannot open our mouths, we have become a shame and a disgrace to your servants and those who honor you; [God] of our fathers.

Do not betray us to death, for your names' sake, and do not break your covenant; and do not remove your mercy from us.

After this verse, the choir sings the "*For Abraham's sake*," in the 2nd plagal mode:

For the sake of Abraham, beloved by you, and your servant Isaac, and your holy Israel.

And they sing this *heirmos*, in accordance with its melody:[6]

[6] A *hiermos* is a quickly-paced, syllabic hymn (i.e., with one note for each syllable); Symeon seems to be asking that it be sung with its original melody, an indication that there were other settings available to the choir.

Ἐν δεηρᾷ τῇ καμίνῳ, δροσίζει παῖδας ὁ κτίστης, καὶ ποιητὴς τοῦ παντὸς· ὕμνον ἀναβοῶντας,·

In the throat of the furnace, τhe restorer and maker of all bedews the children, who cried out the song:

Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Blessed art thou, God of our fathers.

Καὶ πάλιν ψάλλουσιν οἱ παῖδες εἰς ἦχον πλ. Δ′ [το παρον]·

And again, the children sing this in the 4th plagal mode:

Οἷς ἐλάλησας πληθῦναι τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν, ὡς τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανου, καὶ ὡς τὴν ἄμμον τὴν παρὰ τὸ χεῖλος τὴς θαλάσσης· Τῶν πατέρων.

To whom you said that their seed would increase, as the stars in heaven, And as the sand by the shore of the sea; [God] of our fathers.

Ὅτι δέσποτα ἐσμικρύνθημεν παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· καὶ ἐσμεν ταπεινοὶ σήμερον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν· Τῶν πατέρων.

How, Master, we have become small among all nations; And we are humble today the whole world over, because of our sins; [God] of our fathers.

Καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ, ἄρχων καὶ προφήτης καὶ ἡγούμενος· οὐδὲ ὁλοκαύτωσις· οὐδὲ θυσία οὐδὲ προσφορά· οὐδὲ θυμίαμα οὐ τόπος τοῦ καρπῶσαι ἐνώπιον σου, καὶ εὑρεῖν ἔλεος· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

And these days, there is no leader, prophet, and ruler; no offerings, sacrifices, gifts, nor incense; no place of harvest in your presence, and no place finds your mercy; [God] of our fathers.

Ἀλλ′ ἐν ψυχῇ συντετριμμένῃ καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως προσδεχθείημεν.

Yet, crushed in our soul and spirit from humiliation, may we be received.

Ἐνταύθα ψάλλ[ουσιν] οἱ ψάλται τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθε·

Immediately the choir sings the *Confess yourselves.*[7]

Ὡς ἐν ὁλοκαυστώμασι κριῶν καὶ ταύρων, καὶ ὡς ἐν μυριάσιν ἀρνῶν πιόνων, οὕτω γενέσθω ἡ θυσία ἡμῶν ἐνώπιόν σου σήμερον· καὶ ἐτελείσθω ὄπισθέν σου, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχύνη τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπὶ σέ· καὶ Τῶν πατέρων.

Let our offering today in your sight be like the sacrifice of rams and bulls, Like myriads of fat sheep, and let your will be done, that there be no shame for those who believe in you; [God] of our fathers.

Καὶ νῦν ἐξακολουθοῦμεν ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ· καὶ φοβούμεθά σε, καὶ ζητοῦμεν τὸ πρόσωπον συ· μὴ καταισχύνης ἡμᾶς.

And now we follow you with our whole heart, and we are in awe of you, and we seek your face; do not dishonor us;

Καὶ ψάλλουσιν οἱ ψάλται τὰ ἠχήματα κομμάτια κρατημ[άτων] πλαγίου τετάρτου ἤχου ἀνάλογα πρὸς τῶν διπλασμῶν τῆς φωνῆς τῶν παίδων·

And the choir sings selections from the *kratemata* in the 4th plagal mode, resembling an echo of the childrens' register;[8]

---

[7] Psalm 135. The next verse from the canticle, presumably, is for the children.

[8] As discussed in Chapter 6, the upper register may have been handled by castrati even in the early fifteenth century. Alternately, the choir

Εἰς δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ κρατέματος, λέγουσιν ἀπὸ χοροῦ πάντα εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν φωνήν, τοῦτο· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Οἱ παῖδες· Ἀλλὰ ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐπείκειάν σου, καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου ἐξελοῦ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὰ θαυμάσιά σου· καὶ δὸς δόξαν τῷ ὀνόματι σου Κύριε· Τῶν πατέρων.

Καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ ψάλται τὸν παρόντα στίχον, εἰς ἦχον Β'.

Καὶ ἐντραπείησαν πάντες οἱ ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς δούλοις σοῦ κακά· καὶ καταισχυνθείησαν ἀπὸ πάσης δυναστείας· Καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτῶν συντριβείη.

Ψάλλουσι δὲ τὸν παρόντα εἱρμόν μετὰ τῶν ἠχημάτων αὐτοῦ· ἦχος Β'·

Ἐν τῇ φλογοφόρῳ καμίνῳ, ὡς ἐν δροσοπόκῳ νεφέλη, ὑπῆχον οἱ παῖδες ἐν βαβψλῶνι· εὐλογοῦντες σὲ τὸν Κύριον, τὸν ὑπερένδοξον Θεόν, καὶ σωτῆρα πάντων.

Οἱ παῖδες πάλιν εἰς τὸν πλ. Δ' ἦχον· καὶ γνώτωσαν ὅτι σὺ Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς μόνος· καὶ ἔν- [220v] δοξος ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένων· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Καὶ οὐ διέλιπον οἱ ἐμβαλόντες αὐτους ὑπηρέται τοῦ βασιλέως, καίοντες τὴν κάμινον νάφθῃ καὶ πίσσῃ καὶ στυππίῳ καὶ κληματίδι.

Καὶ λέγουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸ Πρὸς Κύριον ἐν τῷ θλιβεσθαί με·

Καὶ διεχεῖτο ἡ φλὸξ ἐπαίνω τῆς καμίνου ἐπὶ πήχεις τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα· καὶ διώδευσε καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν οὓς εὗρε περὶ τὴν κάμινον τῶν Χαλδαίων·

At the end of the *kratema*, after the chorus they sing everything in unison thus: *Blessed art thou Lord, save us.*

The children: *But let it be done with us according to thy goodness, and the fullness of thy mercy; you will deliver us according to thy wondrousness, and give glory to your name, Lord; [God] of our fathers.*

And the choir sings the present verse, in the 2nd [authentic] mode:

And all who do evil to your servants, may they be ashamed, and may they be disgraced from all power and let their strength be crushed.

And they sing the present *heirmos* in accordance with its melody, 2nd mode:

In the fiery furnace, as in a dew-sprinkled cloud, the children in Babylon held out, praising you Lord, most honorable God and savior of all.

The children again in the 4th plagal mode: *And let them know that you, Lord, are God alone; and worthy of honor throughout the world; [God] of our fathers.*

And the king's servants, throwing them in, did not cease fueling the furnace with naphtha[9] *and pitch and oakum and kindling.*

And they sing after this the *"For the Lord [upon] my being distressed;"*[10]

And the flame above the furnace poured forth forty-nine cubits high; and it traveled through and roasted those it found around the Chaldean furnace.

is being asked to transpose the childrens' melody (singing nonsense syllables, without lyrics) to a lower range.

[9] Crude oil, known in antiquity as "Medean oil" because of its origins in the Persian (Medean) Near East.
[10] Psalm 119.

Ψαλλομένου δὲ παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν τοῦ στίχου, Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου, κατεχερται ὁ ἄγγελος· οἱ δὲ παῖδες ἐκτείνουσι τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς προσευχὴν

ἱστάμενοι καὶ τὰ ὄμματα πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον ῥέπουσι καὶ χορεύουσι, γύροις δύο ἢ καὶ τρεῖς πιήσαντες, ἕως οὗ ὁ στίχος καὶ τὸ Τῶν πατέρων παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν πληρω[θέντων]·

Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον· καὶ ἐξετίναξε τὴν φλώγα τοῦ πυρός ἐκ τῆς καμίνου· καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου, ὡς πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο, ψάλλουσιν οἱ παῖδες οὕτως ἔχοντας τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτεταμένας·

Καὶ οὐχ ἥψατο αὐτῶν τὸ καθόλου τὸ πῦρ· οὐδὲ ἐλύπησεν· οὐδὲ παρηνώχλησεν αὐτούς· Τῶν πατερων ἡμῶν ὑπερύμνητε.

Τότε οἱ τρεῖς, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ὕμνουν καὶ εὐλόγουν καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῇ καμίνῃ λέγοντες· Τῶν πατέρων ημῶν.

Εἰς δὲ τὸ Εὐλογητός εἶ Κύριε, χορεύουσι πάλιν οἱ παῖδες ψάλλοντες αὐτό.· ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτεταμένας·

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρῶν ἡμῶν, ὁ ὑπερύμνητος καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε.

Οἱ ψάλται ε[α]ὔθις, Καὶ εὐλογημένον τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δόξης σου, το ὑπερύμνητον καὶ ὑπερυψσούμενον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Εὐλογημένος εἶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου· ὁ ὑπερύμνητος καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

And while the verse, *But the angel of the Lord,* is sung by the choir, the angel descends. And the children stretch out their hands like those who stand in prayer,

And they turn their eyes to the angel and dance; having made two or three circles, until the verse and the *"[God] of our fathers;"* has been completed.

But just then, the angel of the Lord came down together with them, next to Azariah, in the furnace; and he extinguished the flame of the furnace's fire; and he made the middle of the furnace as if a dewy wind were passing through: [God] of our fathers.

And then the children sing this, their hands outstretched:

And the whole fire did not touch them, nor did it harm them or trouble them greatly: [God] of our fathers, praise.

Then the three, as if with one mouth sang, praised and glorified God, singing in the furnace: [God] of our fathers.

And during the *"Blessed art thou, Lord,"* the children dance again while singing this, and holding their hands outstretched:

Blessed art thou, Lord, God of our fathers, praised and exalted forever: [God] of our fathers.

Blessed art thou, Lord.

The choir immediately, *"And blessed is your glorious name, praised and exalted forever: [God] of our fathers.*

Blessed art thou in the temple of your holy glory, praised and exalted forever: [God] of our fathers.

Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ βλέπων ἀβύσσους καθήμενος ἐπὶ χερουβίμ· ὁ ὑπερύμνητος καὶ ὑπερυψσούμενος· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Εὐλογήμενος εἶ ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου· ὁ ὑπερύμνητος καὶ ὑπερυψσούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Καὶ λέγουσι τὸν στίχον τοῦτον οἱ δομέστικοι, εἰς ἦχον Β′·

Εὐλογημνος εἶ ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ὁ ὑπερύμνητος καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Καὶ εὐθὺς τὸν είρμὸν τὰ τῶν ἠχημάτων·

Εἰκόνος χρυσῆς, ἐν πεδίῳ δεηρᾷ λατρευομένης, οἱ τρεῖς σου παῖδες κατεπάτησαν τὸ ἀθεώτατον πρόσταγμα· μέσον δὲ πυρὸς ἐμβληθέντες, δροσιζόμενοι ἔψαλλον· εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Καὶ ἄρχονται οἱ παῖδες τῆς Η′ ης ᾠδῆς, εἰς τὸν πλ. Δ′ ἦχον·

Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ

Καὶ οἱ ψάλται τὸ αὐτό·

Εὐλογεῖτε ἄγγελοι Κυρίου· οὐρανοὶ Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑερυψούτε·

Εὐλογεῖτε ὕδατα πάντα τὰ ὑπεράνω τῶν οὐρανῶν· πᾶσαι αἱ δυνάμεις Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε·

Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸ ἕτερον,ἡ [. . .] ἤ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων σ[ου].

[221r] καὶ ψάλλονται καὶ αὐτὰ ἐναλλὰξ παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν καὶ τῶν παιδῶν.

Blessed art thou who, beholding the abyss, are seated above the cherubim, praised and exalted: [God] of our fathers.

Blessed art thou on the glorious throne of your kingdom, praised and exalted forever: [God] of our fathers.

And the cantors sing this verse, in the second mode:

Blessed art thou in the firmament of the heavens, praised and exalted forever.

And straightaway the *heirmos* with this melody:

When the golden icon was venerated in the middle of the plain Your three children trampled the most godless command; and thrown into the fire, they sang sprinkled with dew, Blessed art thou God of our fathers.

And the children begin the 8th ode in the 4th plagal mode:

Bless the Lord, all ye works of the Lord. Praise and [exalt Him]"

And the choir this:

Bless the Lord, angels of the Lord, the Lord's heavens, Praise and exalt [Him].

Bless the Lord, all [ye] waters above the heavens; all [ye] powers of the Lord: Praise.

And another [verse] is sung too, the [Praise and exalt] or *[More] than your saints.*[11]

And these are also sung antiphonally by the choir and children:

[11] Symeon refers to the two different choruses for this canticle, "Praise and exalt Him forever" and "More than Your saints," both of which are used here.

Εὐλογεῖτε ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη· ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸν Κύριον.

Bless the Lord, sun and moon, stars of heaven.

Λέγεται δὲ κράτημα εἰς ἦχον α', καὶ λέγεται ὁ είρμος

And the *kratema* is sung in the 1st mode, and the *heirmos* is sung:

Φλόγα δροσίζουσαν όσίους δυσσεβεῖς δὲ καταφλέγουσαν, ἄγγελος Θεοῦ ὁ πανσθενὴς, ἔδειξε παισί· ζωαρχικὴν δὲ πηγὴν εἰργάσατο τὴν Θεοτόκον· φθορὰν θανάτου καὶ ζωὴν βλυστάνουσαν τοῖς μέλπουσι, τὸν Δημιουργὸν μόνον ὑμνοῦμεν οἱ λελυτρωμένοι· καὶ ὑπερυψούμεν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας·

An angel of almighty God showed that the flames sprinkled the holy ones, But burned the impious, and made the God-bearer[12] a life-giving spring, And they praised the destroyer of death, who had given them life; ωe who have been ransomed praise our sole Creator and we exalt Him forever.

Οἱ παῖδες, εἰς ἦχον πλ. Δ'.

The children in the 4th plagal mode:

Εὐλογεῖτε πᾶς ὄμβρος καὶ δρόσος· πάντα τὰ πνεύματα τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε και ὑπερυψοῦτε.

Bless the Lord, all ye rain and dew, all ye winds: Praise and exalt [Him].

Εὐλογεῖτε πῦρ καὶ καῦμα· ψύχος καὶ καυσῶν τὸν Κύριον· ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψσοῦτε·

Praise, the Lord, fire and burning heat, cold and heat: Praise and exalt [Him].

Εὐλογεῖτε δρόσοι καὶ νιφετοί, πάγοι καὶ ψύχος τὸν Κύριον· Τῶν άγίων σου.

Bless the Lord, dew-drops and snow, mountain peak and winter: [More than] your saints.

Εὐλογεῖτε πάχναι καὶ χιόνες· ἀστραπαὶ καὶ νεφέλαι τὸν Κύριον·

Bless the Lord, frosts and snow, clouds and lightning

καὶ ψάλλουσι τὸ Ἐν τῷ ἐπιστρέψαι.

And they sing the *"While repenting;"*[13]

Εὐλογεῖτε φῶς καὶ σκότος· νύκτες καὶ ἡμέραι τὸν Κύριον· Τῶν ἀγίων σου.

Bless the Lord, light and darkness, nights and days: [More than] your saints;"

Καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ δομέστικοι εἰς ἦχον β', τὸν δὲ τὸν στίχον·

And the cantors sing in the 2nd mode this verse:

Εὐλογεῖτε γῆ· ὄρη καὶ βουνοὶ· πάντα τὰ φυόμενα ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸν Κύριον.

Bless the Lord, ye earth, mountains, hills, and all that grow therein.

Καὶ κράτημα· καὶ τὸν είρμόν·

And a *kratema* and the *heirmos*:

---

[12] Three Children are sometimes seen as a pre-figuration, with the womb of the Virgin Mary (i.e., *Theotokos*, "God-bearer" or "Birth-giver of God") likened to a furnace. The contrast is between an earthly furnace that consumes everything and the Virgin's "furnace" that gives life to Jesus, and by extension mankind.

[13] Psalm 125.

Τὸν ἐν καμίνῳ τοῦ πυρός· τῶν Ἑβραίων τοῖς παισι συγκαταβάντα, καὶ τὴν φλόγα εἰς δρόσον μεταβάλοντα Θεόν, ὑμνεῖτε τὰ ἔργα ὡς Κύριον· καὶ ὑπερύψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Μεθ' ὅν, ψάλλουσιν οἱ παῖδες εἰς ἦχον πλ. Δ'·

Εὐλογεῖτε θάλασσαι καὶ ποταμοί· αἱ πηγάὶ· κήτη καὶ πάντα τὰ κινούμενα ἐν τοῖς ὕδασε, τὸν Κύριον· Εὐλογητός εἶ Κύριε, τῶν ἁγίων σου.

Καὶ ε[α]ὖθις λέγουσιν οἱ ψάλται εἰς ἦχον Γ'·

Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· τὰ θυρία: καὶ πάντα τὰ κτήνη τὸν Κύριον·

Καὶ ὁμοῦ εἰπόντες κράτημα, ἐπισυνάπτουσι τὸν εἱρμόν·

Τὸν ἐν φλογὶ τοῖς παισὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων· συγκαταβάντα θεϊκῇ δυναστεία· καὶ ὀφθέντα Κύριον, ἱέρεῖς εὐλογεῖτε· καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Οἱ παῖδες· Εὐλογεῖτε υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων· εὐλογεῖτω Ἰσραὴλ τὸν Κύριον· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε τῶν ἀγίων.

Εὐλογεῖτε ἱερεῖς Κυρίου· δοῦλοι Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον· Εὐλογειτὸς εἶ Κύριε τῶν ἁγίων σου.

Εἰς τοῦτον τὸν στίχον ψάλλουσιν εἱρμὸν μετὰ κρατήματος, εἰς ἦχον πλ. α'. Σοὶ τῷ παντουργῷ.

Εὐλογεῖτε πνεύματα καὶ ψυχαὶ δικαίων, ὅσιοι καὶ ταπεινοὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ τὸν Κύριον· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε.

Εὐλογεῖτε Ἀνανία Ἀζαρία καὶ Μισαὴλ τὸν Κύριον·

Praise God who came down into the fiery furnace for the children of the Hebrews, and changed the fire to dew, ye works, praise as Lord and exalt Him forever.

After this the children sing in 4th plagal mode:

Bless the Lord, seas and rivers, springs, sea beasts and all that move in the waters: Blessed art thou Lord: [More than] thy saints.

And immediately the choir sings in the 3rd mode:

Bless the Lord, all you winged ones in the heavens, cattle and all wild beasts.

And similarly singing the *kratema*, they begin the *heirmos* again:

Praise the Lord, ye priests, He who came down into the flames for the children of the Hebrews establishing his sovereignty and revealing Himself, and exalt him forever.

The children:[14] *Bless the Lord ye sons of men, let Israel bless the Lord: Blessed art thou Lord: [More than] thy saints.*

Bless the Lord, [ye] priests of the Lord, servants of the Lord: Blessed art thou Lord: [More than] thy saints;"

At this verse they sing a *heirmos* with a *kratema* in the 1st plagal mode: *For Thee the omnipotent . . .*

Bless the Lord, spirits and souls of the just, and the holy and humble in heart: Blessed art thou Lord.

Bless the Lord Ananiah, Azariah and Mishael.[15]

---

[14] This attribution is in red ink; Symeon keeps careful track of the distribution of verses.
[15] Following Symeon's outline, the choir sings this critical verse from Dan. 3:88 (LXX).

Καὶ λέγουσι κράτημα εἰς ἦχον Δ′· καὶ τὸν εἱρμόν· Παῖδες εὐαγεῖς ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ· οἱ δὲ παῖδες χορεύοντες, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείναντ[ες], ψάλλουσιν εἰς ἦχον πλ. Δ′, τό,

Αἰνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον· Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε.

Καὶ ε[α]ὖθις οἱ ψάλται εἰς ἦχον πλ. β′· Εὐλογεῖτε Ἀπόστολοι προφῆται καὶ μάρτυρες Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον.

Εἶτα κράτημα· καὶ τὸν εἱρμόν ἦχος πλ. β′·

Τυράννου χρυσοχώνευτον στήλην, ὡς ἀντίθεον ἄγαλμα, οὐ προσεκύνησαν παῖδες οἱ Σιωνῖται· ἀλλὰ θεοφορούμενοι, τὴν Περσικὴν πυρκαϊάν, ὥσπερ λειμῶνα ἡγοῦντο· καὶ τὴν φλόγα, ὡς ψεκάζουσαν νεφέλην· καὶ χορεύοντες ἔψαλλον, [221v] εὐλογεῖτε τὰ ποιήματα πάντα τὸν Κύριον·

Οἱ παῖδες τὸ Εὐλογοῦμενον Πάτερα καὶ Υἱόν· χορεύουσι δὲ πάλιν ὁμοί[ως]· καὶ ψάλλουσιν εἰς τὸν πλ. Δ′ ἦχον· Εὐλογοῦμεν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, τὸν Κύριον· Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε.

Καὶ οἱ ψάλται ὁμοί[ως], τὸ· Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· Ἀμήν· τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε.

Οἱ παῖδες δὲ καὶ ε[α]ὖθις χορεύοντες, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὑψοῦντες, λέγουσι τό· Αἰνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον· τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε.

Οἱ μέντοι ψάλται, λέγουσι κράτημα, εἰς ἦχον πλ. Δ′. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ψάλλουσι γεγωνοτέρα τῇ φωνῇ, τὸ Αἰνοῦμεν εὐλγοῦμεν· καὶ τὸν εἱρμόν·

And they say/sing the *kratema* in the 4th mode and the *heirmos*: *The pure children in the furnace.* And the children dance, their hands extended, singing in the 4th plagal mode, the:

We praise, we bless, we venerate the Lord·[16] *Praise the Lord.*

And again the choir in the 2nd plagal mode: *Bless the Lord, Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs of the Lord;"*

Then a *kratema*; and the *heirmos*, 2nd plagal mode·

The children, citizens of Zion, did not venerate the tyrant's gold-crafted monument, the ungodly statue but, god-inspired, they were led to the Persian pyre as to a meadow and to the fire as to a drizzling cloud, and they sang, dancing, "All of Creation, bless the Lord"

The children [sing] the *"Bless the Father and the Son"* and they dance again as before, and they sing in the 4th plagal mode: *We bless the Lord, Father and Son and Holy Spirit: Praise the Lord.*

And the choir likewise, the: *Now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen:*[17] *Praise the Lord.*

And the children also again, dancing and raising their hands, sing the: *We praise, we bless, we venerate the Lord: Praise the Lord.*

Whereupon the choir sings the *kratema* in the 4th plagal mode; and after this they sing in a louder voice, the: *We praise, we bless*: and the *heirmos*;

---

[16] As discussed in Chapter 6 above, this verse is not found in Daniel.

[17] This formula, commonly used in the Liturgy, provides a cue to both the singers and congregation that the *Office* is nearing its conclusion.

Εὐλογεῖτε παῖδες τῆς Τριάδος ἰσάριθμοι, δημιουργὸν Πατέρα Θεόν· ὑμνεῖτε τὸν συγκαταβάντα Λόγον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ εἰς δρόσον μεταποιήσαντα· καὶ ὑπερυψσοῦτε τὸ πᾶσι ζωὴν παρέχον, Πνεῦμα πανάγιον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Bless, children, equal in number to the Trinity, God the Father [and] Creator; Praise the incarnated Word, and the fire converted to dew, and exalt the one who gives life to all, the all-holy Spirit, forever.

Καὶ πάλιν οἱ παῖδες τὸν προειρημένον τροπάριον· ἤ [και . . .] χορεύοντες καὶ προσκυνοῦντες καὶ τὰς χεῖρας αἴροντες, ψάλλουσι τὸ Αἰνοῦμεν εὐλογοῦμεν· καὶ Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ ψάλται τὸ Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται· καὶ τὸ πολψχρόνιον· καὶ τὸ Τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν.

And again the children [sing] the prescribed *troparion* or, dancing and bowing and raising their hands, they sing the *We praise, we bless,* and *Praise the Lord*. And after this the choir [sings] the: *Beyond the Prophets* and the *Polychronion* and the *Our ruler and archbishop.* [18]

Τοῦ Ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται ἀρχομένου ψάλλεσθαι, κάτεισιν ὁ ἀρχιερεῦς τοῦ στασιδίου αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἠλλαγμένων ὄντων τῶν κληρικῶν, πρότερον λαβόντων εὐλογίαν, ἀλλάσει καὶ αὐτὸς πᾶσαν ἀρχιεράτικην στολὴν, ὑπηρετούμενος παρ' αὐτῶν, καὶ εὐθὺς πληρωθείσης τῆς ἀκολουθίας, κατέρχεται εἰς τὰς ὡραῖας πύλας.

When the *Beyond the prophets* starts, the Archbishop comes down from his throne and the clergy have already changed; after taking his blessing, he changes all archiepiscopal vestments, being aided by them. And immediately upon completion of the *Office*, he goes in through the beautiful gates.[19]

Καὶ συναπτῶς τε λέγεται ἡ Θεῖα Λειτουργία· συλλειτουργόντων αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπισκοπων.

And next the Divine Liturgy is sung, the bishops conducting the service with him.

[18] Here, Symeon appears to offer his choirboys an optional *kanon*, and the choir follows up with a traditional hymn, "Beyond the Prophets," which has the function of covering the archbishop's change of vestments for the Liturgy. Then come the traditional acclamations to the Emperor, local officials and high clergy (beginning with the *Polychronion*, wishing the Emperor "Many years") that mark the beginning of the Liturgy proper.

[19] Because Symeon sat at the foot of the southeast pillar in the nave during the *Office*, either he changed his vestments in full view of the congregation (perhaps in the *solea*) or retired briefly to the *diaconicon* nearby. Once fully changed, he would have entered the sanctuary through its central "beautiful" gates, and (presumably) assumed his place on the *synthronon* for the Liturgy.

Appendix 2: The Office of the Three Children, Athens 2406

Instructions for the Conduct of the Office
As found in MS 2406, National Library of Athens, *ca*. 1453 C.E

[151r] Ακολουθεία ψαλλομένη τῇ κυριακῇ τῶν ἀγίων προπατόρων εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους τρεῖς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν καμίνῳ.[1]

Μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὄρθρου τῆς καμίνου εὐτρεπισθείσης καὶ τῶν παίδων εὐτρεπισθέντων. οἱ ψάλται περὶ τὴν κάμινον ἄρχονται τὸ ἰδιόμελον μετὰ μέλους οὕτως ἦχος· Πνευματικῶς ἡμᾶς, πιστοί συνήγαγε σήμερον ὁ προφήτης Δανιήλ.

Τούτου δὲ ψαλλομένου εἰσέρχονται οἱ παῖδες ἐντός τῆς καμίνου, καὶ προσκυνοῦσι κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τρείς· καὶ τοῦ ἰδιομέλου πληρωθέντος, ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλται Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν οὕτως·

[151v] πλ. δ′. Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὑπερύμνητε ὑπερένδοξε Κύριε ὁ Θεός; νὲ τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἡμῶν εὐλογετὸς εἶ Κύριε.

Εἶτα καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὸ αυτό: Ἔπειτα ἄρχονται οἱ ψάλτοι τοὺς στίχους τῆς ζ′ ᾠδῆς μετὰ μέλους οὕτως πλ. δ′· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ αἰνετὸν, καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τούς αἰῶνας.

Πλ. δ′· Τῶν πα. Πλ. δ′· Ὅτι δίκαιους εἶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐποίησας ἡμῖν. Τῶν πα.

Sung Office on the Sunday of the Holy Forefathers for the Three Holy Children in the furnace.[2]

At the end of matins, the furnace made ready and the children made ready. The choir around the furnace begins the *idiomelon* after the following tune: *The Prophet Daniel has gathered us faithful together today.*

And while singing this, the children enter into the furnace and bow three times to the east; and when the *idiomelon* has been completed, the choir begins 'God of our Fathers' thus:

4th plagal. God of our fathers, praise and exalt Thee in the highest; yes, blessed art Thou Lord God, Lord of our fathers.

And then the children [sing] this. Thereupon the choir begins the verses of the 7th Ode, after this melody, 4th plagal: *Blessed art Thou Lord God of our fathers, let Thy name be exalted and glorified forever.*

4th plagal: *[God of our] Fa[thers.* 4th plagal: *How just Thou art in all Thou hast done to us*. 4th pl. *[God of our] Fa[thers]*.

[1] Transcription from Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 378-381, supplemented by inspection of the original MS.

[2] The Sunday of the Holy Forefathers takes place two weeks before Christmas, the Sunday of the Holy Fathers one week before. The date of the *Office* appears to hinge on how close the official Saint's day for the Children, December 17, is to the date for Orthodox Christmas. See Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 354, for more information.

Μὴ δὴ παραδώσεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τέλος διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου· καὶ μὴ διασκεδάσῃς τὴν διαθήκην σου καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσῃς τὸ ἔλεός σου ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

ἠχίσματα δὲ λέγομεν κρατημάτων πλαγίων τετάρτων· ἀνάλογος πρὸς τὸν διπλασμὸν τῆς φωνῆς τῶν παίδων. Εἰς δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ἠχίσματος λέγομεν ἀπόκρισιν πάντες εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν φωνὴν οὕτως πλ. δ'.

Εὐλογηητὸς εἶ Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

[152r] Διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ μέλους λέγουσι κατὰ τρεῖς και τέσσαρας στίχους τῶν πατέρων τὸ ἕτερον οὕτως· ἦχος πλ. δ'.

Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Εἰς δὲ τὸν στίχον, καταβιβάζουσιν τὸν ἄγγελον ἐπάνω τῶν παῖδων ψαλλομένων τῶν στίχων τούτων μετὰ μέλους ὡς ὁρᾷς καὶ Τῶν ἁγίων σοῦ ὁμοῦ· στίχος πλ. δ'.

Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς. Τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὑπερύμνητε, ὑπερένδοξε Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἡμῶν, εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὸ αὐτὸ συχνάκις διὰ τὴν εὐμορφίαν ἤχισμα. ἦχ. πλ. δ'.

Ὁ ὑπερύμνητος καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος [152v] εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Do not abandon us, for the sake of Thy name; Do not cancel Thy agreement, and do not withdraw Thy mercy from us. God of our Fathers.

Then we sing *kratemata* in the fourth plagal analogous to an echo[3] of the children's sound. At the end of song, we sing the response in this tone thus, 4th plagal:

Blessed art Thou Lord, save us!

And for a change in melody, they sing for three or four verses an alternate *[God] of our Fathers* thus, 4th plagal mode:[4]

Lord of our fathers, blessed art Thou, save us.

And during this verse they lower the angel from above, while the boys sing these verses, according to the melody that you see, together with *[More than] thy saints.* Verse, 4th plagal:[5]

But just then, the angel of the Lord came down to them near Azariah in the furnace. Blessed art Thou Lord, save us. More than Thy saints, praise and exalt Thee in the highest Lord God of our fathers, blessed art Thou Lord, save us!

And the children often [sing] this, because of [its] beautiful sound, 4th plagal mode:

Praised and exalted forever, blessed art thou Lord, save us!

[3] Lit., "doubling."
[4] The rubrics here seem to indicate that the children and choir now sing this (climactic) verse like a chorus, repeating it several times before the canticle's conclusion.
[5] As the rubrics indicate, the children are now given several verses to sing in succession for aesthetic reasons.

Καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὸ αὐτό. Τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι κρεῖττον εἰς τοὺς παῖδας, διὰ τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν.

Εἶτα ἄρχονται τὴν η′ ᾠδὴν οὕτως· πλ. δ′.

Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον. πλ. δ′. Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον τὰ ἔργα, ὑμνεῖτε, εὐλογεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Λέγε. δ′. Πάντα τὰ ἔργα, τὸν Κύριον τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε, εὐλογεῖτε, καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Εὐλογεῖτε.

Ψαλλομένου δὲ τοῦτου χορεύουσιν οἱ παῖδες ἐντὸς τῆς καμίνου, ἐκτείνουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ὡς εἰς προσευχὴν ἱστάμενοι καὶ τὰ ὄμματα πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ῥέπουσι· καὶ πάλιν ἄρχονται τοὺς στίχους. Οἱ ψάλται δὲ ψάλλουσιν εἰς ἕκαστος ὅσα καὶ βούλεται.

[153r] Εὐλογεῖτε Ἀνανία Ἀζαρία καὶ Μισαὴλ τὸν Κύριον οἱ δομέστικοι· οἱ παῖδες· Ὑμνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον.

Καὶ προσκυνοῦσι λέγοντες· Τῶν ἁγίων σοῦ. Εὐλογεῖτε ἀπόστολοι, προφῆται καὶ μάρτυρες Κυρίου τὸν Κὺριον.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς. Καὶ πάλιν οἱ παῖδες τὸ · Ὑμνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν, καὶ προσκυνοῦσι λέγοντες καὶ Τῶν ἁγίων σοῦ. Εὐλογοῦμεν Πατέρα, Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα τὸν Κύριον. Καὶ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ τὰς χείρας ἐκτείνουσι καὶ χορεύοντες ψάλλουσι Τὸν Κὺριον ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε·

And the children [sing] this, for this is more beautiful with the children because of their sound.

Then they begin the 8th ode thus: 4th plagal.

Praise all the works of the Lord, the Lord. 4th plagal: *Praise the Lord, and praise the Lord ye works, praise, bless and exalt Him in the highest forever and ever.*

Sing:[6] 4th [mode]. *All ye works, the Lord, ye works, praise, bless and exalt Him forever. Bless [Him].*

While singing this, the children dance inside the furnace, extending their hands as if standing in prayer and raising their eyes to the sky. And in turn the verses [of the 8th ode] are begun. And the choir sings for each [verse] as is their wont.[7]

The cantors: *Bless the Lord, Ananiah, Azariah, Mishael*. The children: *We praise, we bless, we bow before the Lord*.

And they bow, singing *"[More than] your saints*. *Bless the Lord Apostles, Prophets and Martyrs of the Lord*.

[The cantors] *Blessed art thou Lord, save us*. And in turn the children the· *We praise, we bless*, and bowing they sing again *[More than] your saints. We Bless the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, the Lord*. And they bow and extend their hands upward and, dancing, they sing: *Praise the Lord and exalt Him.*

---

[6] A cue for change in mode and register.
[7] The choir may have been given leave to interject the following verse where they saw fit.

Καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, οἱ δομέστικοὶ. Ἀμήν. Τὸν Κὺριον ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε.

Εἶτα πάλιν οἱ δομέστικοι γεγονωτέρᾳ φωνῇ; τὸ Αἰνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν προσκυνοῦμεν τὸν Κύριον. Σοὶ τῷ παντουργῷ ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ.

Λέγομεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς εἱρμοὺς τούτους ἦχ. α′. Φλόγα δροσίζουσαν ὁσίους δυσσεβεῖς δὲ καταφλέγουσαν, ἄγγελος Θεοῦ ὁ πανσθενὴς, ἔδειξε παισί· ζωαρχικὴν δὲ πηγὴν εἰργάσατο τὴν Θεοτόκον· φθορὰν θανάτου καὶ ζωὴν βλυστάνουσαν τοῖς μέλπουσι, τὸν Δημιουργὸν μόνον ὑμνοῦμεν οἱ λελυτρωμένοι· καὶ ὑπερυψούμεν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας·

Ὁ αὐτὸς [ἦχος] Τὸν ἐν φλογὶ πυρός καιομένης καμίνου [153v] διαφυλάξαντα παῖδας καὶ ἐν μορφῇ ἀγγέλου συγκαταβάντα τούτοις ὑμνεῖτε Κύριον καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ἕτερος, ἦχ. β′. Ἰνδαλματος χρυσοῦ καταπτύσαντες τρισόλβιοι νεανίαι τὴν ἀπαράλλακτον καὶ ζῶσαν Θεοῦ εἰκόνα τεθεαμένοι μέσον τῆς φλογὸς ἀνέμελπον· ἡ οὐσιωθεῖσα ὑμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον πᾶσα.

ἕτερος, ἦχ. γ′. Τὸν ἐν φλογὶ τοῖς παισί τῶν Ἑβραίων· συγκαταβάντα θεϊκῇ δυναστεία· καὶ ὀφθέντα Κύριον, ἱέρεῖς εὐλογεῖτε· καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

The Cantors: *Now and forever and to the ages of ages. Amen.*[8] *Praise the Lord and Exalt Him.*

Then again the cantors, with louder voices: the *We submit, we bless and we bow before the Lord. For Thee, the Omnipotent, those in the furnace*.

And we sing these *hiermoi*, first mode:[9] *An angel of almighty God showed that the flames sprinkled the holy ones but burned the impious, and made the God-bearer*[10] *a life-giving spring, and they praised the destroyer of death, who had given them life. We who have been ransomed praise our sole Creator and we exalt Him forever.*

The same mode: *He who guarded the Children against the heat of the flame in the fiery furnace, and in an angel's form came down to them, praise the Lord and exalt him forever.*

Another, 2nd mode: *The thrice-blessed young men, having rejected the false golden idol and beheld the eternal, living image of God in the midst of the flame praised in song: praise the Lord, all ye essential power[s].*

Another, third mode: *Praise the Lord, ye priests, He who came down into the flames for the children of the Hebrews establishing his sovereignty and revealing Himself, and exalt him forever.*

---

[8] Although in Symeon's version this liturgical formula is saved for near the end of the *Office*, here it seems to coincide with the end of the first choir's singing duties. After these verses the second choir (i.e., the one the author belongs to) begins their *kanons*.

[9] The first person plural here confirms this manuscript was designed for a specific choir.

[10] As mentioned in the notes for Athens 2047, this canon explicitly associates the furnace with the womb of the Virgin Mary.

καὶ ἕτερος ἦχος πλ. δ'· Εὐλογεῖτε παῖδες τῆς τριάδος ἰσάριθνοι, δημιουργὸν Πατέρα Θεόν· ὑμνεῖτε τὸν συγκαταβάντα Λόγον, καὶ τὸ πῦρ εἰς δρόσον μεταποιήσαντα· καὶ ὑπερυψσοῦτε τὸ πᾶσι ζωὴν παρέχον, Πνεῦμα πανάγιον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Εἶτα ἡ θεία λειτουργία καὶ ἀπόλυσις.

And another, 4th plagal mode: *Bless, children, equal in number to the Trinity, God the Father [and] Creator; Praise the incarnated Word, and the fire converted to dew, and exalt the one who gives life to all, the all-holy Spirit, forever.*

Then the Divine Liturgy and the dismissal.

Appendix 3: The Office of the Three Children, Iviron 1120

Instructions for Conduct of the Office of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace
Based on Iviron Monastery MS 1120, ca. 1458

Ακολουθία, ψαλλομένη τῇ κυριακῇ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων πρὸ τῆς Χριστοῦ γεννήσεως, ἤτι τῆς καμίνου διάταχις.[1]

Μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὄρθρου τῆς καμίνου εὐτρεπισθείσης καὶ τῶν παίδων ὁμοίως, οἱ ψάλται περὶ τὴν κάμινον ψάλλουσιν ἰδιόμελον τὸ Πνευματικῶς ἡμᾶς, πιστοί. Τούτου δὲ ψαλλομένου, εἰσέρχονται οἱ παῖδες ἐντός τῆς καμίνου καὶ προσκυνοῦσι κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τρίς· καὶ τοῦ ἰδιομέλου πληρωθέντος, ἄρχεται ὁ δομέστικος ἀντίπωνον εἰς ἦχον πλ. δ′. μετὰ τοῦ στίχου, τοῦ Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά Σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Κυροῦ Ξένου τοῦ Κορώνη, πλ. δ′. Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὑπερύμνητε , ὑπερένδοξε Κύριε, ὁ Θεός τῶν Πατέρων καὶ ἡμῶν, εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε. Καὶ οἱ παῖδες τὸ αυτό. Εἶτα τὸν στίχον, πλ. δ′. Καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν τὴν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἱρουσαλήμ. Καὶ διεχεῖτο ἡ φλὸξ ἐπάνω τῆς καμίνου ἐπὶ πήχεις τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα. Ἕτερον ἄλλαγμα παλαιόν· Τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν εὐλογηητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Εἶτα ἠχίζει ὁ δομέστικος ἤχημα πλ. δ′. στίχος· Καὶ διώδευσε καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν, οὕς εὗρε περὶ τὴν κάμινον τῶν Χαλδαίων. Ὁμοίως και ὁ β′. χορός. Εἶτα πάλιν τοὺς στίχους. Εἰς δὲ τὰ τέλη τῶν ἠχημάτων ψάλλεται τοῦτο ἀπὸ χορῶν πλ. δ′. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Office sung on Sunday of the Holy Fathers before Christmas, or, *diataxis* of the furnace.

After the end of the *orthros*, the furnace made ready and the children likewise, the choir around the furnace sings the *idiomelon*: *Spiritually we faithful*. And while singing this, the children enter into the furnace and bow to the east three times. And upon completion of the *idiomelon* the cantor begins the antiphonal hymn in the 4th plagal mode with the verse: *Blessed art thou Lord God of our fathers, may your name be praised and glorified forever.*

[By] Xenes of Korones, 4th plagal: *Lord of our fathers, praise and exalt thee, and God of our fathers, blessed art thou Lord*. And the children [sing] this. Then the verse, 4th plagal: *And also to the holy city of our fathers, Jerusalem. And the flame streamed above the furnace, forty-nine cubits high.* Another old chorus:[2] *Blessed art thou Lord of our fathers, save us.*

Then the cantor sounds out a tone, 4th plagal:[3] *And it passed through and burned those it found around the furnace of the Chaldeans.* And the second choir [sings this] likewise. Then in turn the verses. And at the ends of [each verse] this is sung by the choruses, 4th plagal: *Blessed art Thou, Lord, save us!*

---

[1] As found in A. Dmitrievskiĭ, “Chin peshchnago dieistva," *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik* 1 (1894): 585-588.

[2] Chrysaphes routinely offers alternative melodies for his singers.

[3] As in Lavra 165 (see Appendix 5), this indicates a pause for tuning.

Εἶτα λέγει ᾀσματικὸν ἐκ τῶν ᾠδῶν, καὶ εὐθὺς πάλιν τοὺς στίχους μετὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων. Ὅτε δὲ φθάσει οὗτος ὁ στίχος, καταβιβάζουσι τὸν ἄγγελον· Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον.

Τοῦ Κορώνη, πλ. δ′. Σὺ Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὑπερύμνητε, ὑπερένδοξε Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Ἕτερος Μανουὴλ Λαμπαδαρίου τοῦ Χρυσάφη, ψαλλόμενος ἕνα παρ′ ἕνα· Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον. πλ. δ′. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεός, ὁ δι′ ἀγγέλου τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ φλογὸς διασώας, καὶ τὴν βροντῶσαν κάμινον μεταβαλὼν εἰς δρόσον. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν. Στίχος, πλ. δ′. Καὶ ἐξετίναξε τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς καμίνου, ὡς πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον. Τῶν ἁγίων. Ἕτερος στίχος, πλ. δ′. Τότε οἱ τρεῖς, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, ὕμνουν, ἐβόουν, καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῃ καμίνῳ, λέγοντες· πλ. δ′. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς.

Ψάλλονται οὖν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ στίχοι εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μέλος, καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν, εὐθὺς ἠχίζει πάλιν ὁ δομέστικος, εἶτα λέγει ᾀσματικόν. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἄρχεται ἡ η′. ᾠδὴ. Στίχος, πλ. δ′. Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον. πλ. δ′. Τὸν Κύριε ὑμνεῖτε· και Ὑμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον τὰ ἔργα· ὑμνεῖτε, εὐλογεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Λέγε. Πάντα τὰ ἔργα, τὸν Κύριον τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε, ἐλογεῖτε, καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Τούτου δὲ ψαλλομένου χορεύουσιν οἱ παῖδες ἐντὸς τῆς καμίνου,

Then [the cantor] sings a lyric hymn from the odes, and immediately in turn the verses [are sung] antiphonally. And when this verse occurs they lower the angel: *But just then, the angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with those around Azariah.*

By Korones, 4th plagal: *Thou, blessed art Thou Lord of Thy saints, praised and glorified art Thou Lord God of our fathers, blessed art Thou Lord, save us."*

Another by Manuel Chrysaphes the Lampadarios, sung as an alternative:[4] *But just then the angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with those around Azariah.* 4th plagal: *Blessed art Thou God who brought salvation to the children from the fire through an angel, and changed the Thunderous furnace to dew. Blessed art Thou Lord God of our fathers.* Verse, 4th plagal. *"And he struck the flame of the fire out of the furnace, as if a breeze of dew were passing through. [More than your] Saints.* Another verse, 4th plagal: *Then the three, as if with one mouth, praised, cried out and glorified God in the furnace, saying* (4th plagal) *Blessed art thou God.*

Then the remaining verses are sung in this melody, and after they end straightaway the cantor sounds out in turn, then he sings a lyric hymn. And straightaway the eighth ode is begun. Verse, 4th plagal: *Bless the Lord all ye words of the Lord.* 4th plagal: *Praise the Lord:* and: *Praise the Lord ye works, praise, bless and exalt Him forever. Sing.*[5] *All ye works, Praise the Lord ye works, bless and exalt Him forever. Bless [Him].* And while this is sung the children dance inside the furnace,

[4] Literally, "one for one."
[5] The cue for a change of register.

ἐκτείνουσι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα ἄνω. Ὅτε δὲ φθάσει τὸ μέσον τῆς ᾠδῆς, εὐθὺς πάλιν ἠχίζει ὁ δομέστικος, εἶτα ὁ ἕτερος χορὸς ἤχημα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ᾀσματκόν, εἶτα ψάλλεται τὸ ἐπίλοιπον τῆς ᾠδῆς·

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς ᾠδῆς, εὐθὺς, το Ὑμνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν, προσκυνοῦμεν . . . Σοὶ τῷ παντουργῷ . . . Φλόγα, δροσίζουσαν ὁσίους . . . Εὐλογεῖτε παῖδες . . . Νικεταὶ τυράννου. Εἶτα ἄρχεται ἡ λειτουργία..

Μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς ζ′ ᾠδῆς, ψάλλεται τοῦτο ἀντὶ ἀσματικοῦ κυρ. Μανουὴλ τοῦ Γαζῆ, συνετέθη δὲ καὶ ἐγράφη παρ′ ἐμοῦ, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἦχος πλ. δ′. Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου, ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον. Πάλιν. Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου, συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον, καὶ ἐξετίναξε τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς καμίνου, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου, ὡς πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον, καὶ οὐχ ἥψατο αὐτῶν τὸ καθόλου τὸ πῦρ. Πάλιν πλ. α′. Οὐδὲ ἐλύπησεν, οὐδὲ παρηνόχλησεν. Τότε οἱ τρεῖς, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, ὕμνουν καὶ εὐλόγουν καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ λέγοντες. Ἀπὸ χορῶν, πλ. δ′. Εὐλογεῖτε.

holding their hands and their eyes upward. And when it comes to the middle of the ode, straightaway in turn the cantor sounds out, then the other choir [sings] a tone, and after these he sings a lyric hymn, then the rest of the ode is sung.

And at the end of the ode, straightaway, the *"We praise, we bless, we bow . . . To you the Almighty . . . The fire, sprinkled with dew . . . Praise, children, . . . The tyrant is defeated."* Then the liturgy is begun.

At the end of the 7th ode, this is sung instead of the lyric by Manuel of Gaza, assembled and written down by me, as you see, 4th plagal mode: *But the angel, but the angel of the Lord, but just then the angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with those around Azaria.* In turn. *But just then, the angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with those around Azaria, and struck the flame of the fire out of the furnace, and made the middle of the furnace as if a breeze of dew were passing through. And the fire didn't touch them at all.* In turn, 1st plagal: *Nor did it harm or trouble them. Then the three, as if with one mouth, praised and blessed and glorified God in the furnace, saying*: [Sung] by the choir, 4th plagal: *"Bless [the Lord, all ye works]*.[6]

[6] This alternate setting was included as a postscript; see Dmitrievskiĭ, "Chin peshchnago dieistva," 587, n.1.

Appendix 4: The Office of the Three Children, Sinai 1527

Instructions for Conduct of the *Office*
As found in Mt. Sinai MS 1527, *ca*. 16th Century

[215v] Ακολουθεία τῆς καμίνου.[1]

Ψάλουν οἱ ψάλται πρῶτον τὸ ἰδιόμελον τὸ· Προφητικῶς ἡμᾶς, πιστοί, , συνήγαγε σήμερον· ὁ Προφήτης Δανιήλ, εἰς ἦχον β′. Εἶτα εἰσφέρουσι τοὺς παῖδας καὶ ἐμβάλουσιν εἰς τὴν κάμινον ψαλλουμένου τοῦ ἰδιομέλου.

Εἰσελθόντων δὲ ἄρχονται τῆς ἑβδόμης ᾠδῆς, εἰς ἦχον πλάγιον τὸν τέταρτον τὸ· Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Λέγονται δὲ ἑχῆς πάντες οἱ στίχοι εἰς τὸ αὐτόμελον [216r] ἕνα στίχον οἱ παῖδες καὶ ἕναν οἱ ψάλτοι μετὰ τῶν μελισμάτων τούτων πλ. δ′.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν καὶ αἰνετὸν, καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τούς αἰῶνας.

πλ. δ′· Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὑπερύμνητε ὑπερένδοξε Κύριε ὁ Θεός· νε [216v] τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἡμῶν εὐλογετὸς εἶ Κύριε.

πλ. δ′: Ὅτι δίκαιους εἶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐποίησας ἡμῖν: Τῶν πατέρων.

πλ. δ′· Μὴ δὴ παραδῴεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τέλος διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου· καὶ μὴ διασκεδάσης τὴν διαθήκην σου καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης τὸ ἔλεός σου ἀφ′ ἡμῶν.[2]

Office of the furnace.[3]

The choir sings the first *idiomelon*, the *Prophetically, we faithful* in the second mode.[4] Then they lead the children and install them in the furnace while singing the *idiomelon*.

And having entered, they sing the seventh ode, in the fourth plagal mode, the *Blessed art thou Lord, God of our fathers.*[5]

And next all the verses are sung to the same melody, the children one verse and the choir one, after these melodies, 4th plagal mode:

Blessed art thou Lord God of our fathers, and may your name be praised and glorified forever."

4th plagal, *Praised [and] exalted art thou Lord God of our father; yes, and blessed art Thou Lord of our fathers.*

4th plagal, *How just thou art in all that thou hast done to us. [God] of [our] fathers.*

Do not withdraw your mercy from us in the end, through your name, and do not set your mercy apart from us.

[1] Transcription based on Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 378-381, and the facsimile of Sinai 1527 at the Library of Congress

[2] The copyist overlooked this underlined portion initially, but supplied it at the bottom of 216v.

[3] Based on Miloš Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 378-381, and the facsimile of Sinai 1527 in the Library of Congress.

[4] The word "prophetically" is used in place of "spiritually," implying an emphasis on the story as a prefiguration of Ottoman rule.

[5] Exactly who sings this ode is unclear: Velimirović ("Liturgical Drama," 378, line 23) thinks this ode is for the choir, but the participle "having gone in" seems to refer to the children.

Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν εὐλογητὸς [217r] εἶ Κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον.

πλ. δʹ. Σὺ εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε. πλ. δʹ· Τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὑπερύμνητε Κύριε ὑπερένδο- [217v] ξε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων καὶ ἡμῶν, εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε, σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Τέλος τῆς ζʹ ᾠδῆς καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς ηʹ.

Λέγουσι δὲ οἱ ψάλται διὰ μέσον καὶ ἠχίσματα εἰς ἦχον πλάγιον δʹ καλοφωνικά: λέγουσι καὶ καλοφωνικὰ ᾀσματικὰ ἀπὸ τὰς ᾠδὰς πλ. δʹ.

Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον. [218r] πλ. δʹ. Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑμνεῖτε τὸν Κύριον τὰ ἔργα, ὑμνεῖτε, εὐλογεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Λέγε. Πάντα τὰ ἔργα, τὸν Κύριον τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε, [218v] εὐλογεῖτε, καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Εὐλογεῖτε.

Καὶ ψάλλεται τοῦτο εἰς ὅλην τὴν ηʹ ᾠδήν.

Εἶτα τὸ Αινοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν· τὸν εἱρμόν· Φλόγα δροσίζουσαν ὁσίους . . . καὶ τὸ Σοὶ τῷ παντουργῷ

Καὶ τὸ Ἑπταπλασίου . . . καὶ ἕτερα ὅμοια.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἡ θεία λειτουργία.

Blessed art Thou, Lord of our fathers, save us.

But just then, the angel of the Lord came down to them near Azariah in the furnace.

Fourth plagal mode: *Blessed art Thou Lord, [more than] Thy saints, praise and exalt Thee in the highest Lord God of our fathers, blessed art Thou Lord, save us!*

End of the 7th ode and beginning of the 8th.

And the choir sings, after the *meson* and *ichismata*, in the 4th plagal mode kalophonically. And they sing kalophonic songs according to the canons, 4th plagal:[6]

Bless the Lord all ye words of the Lord, praise the Lord and Praise the Lord ye works, praise bless and exalt him forever

Sing. All ye works, praise the Lord ye works, bless and exalt him forever. Bless [Him]."

And this [melody] is sung throughout the whole 8th ode.[7]

Then the *We praise, we bless*; then the *heirmos*: *The fire, sprinkled with dew . .* . and the: *For Thee, Omnipotent One . .* . and the: *Sevenfold* . . . and other such [*hiermoi*].

And straightaway the Divine Liturgy.

[6] Here, the writer gives instructions for the choir to provide cues for a change in mode, and sing a series of sophisticated "kalophonic" hymns. Note that the term used here for the central note or drone – *mēsos* – is taken from antiquity.

[7] In other words, the whole "Song of the Three Children," is sung with the preceding melody as the model.

Appendix 5: The Office of the Three Children, Lavra 165

Instructions for Conduct of the Office
As found in Lavra MS 165, ca. 17th Century

Διάταχις[1]	*Procedure*.
Μετὰ τὸ τέλος τοῦ ὄρθρου τῆς Καμίνου εὐτρεπισθείσης καὶ τῶν παίδων ὁμοίως ἐν ἐνδύμασι λευκοῖς, οἱ ψάλλοντες περὶ τὴν κάμινον ψάλλουσιν ἰδιόμελον τὸ πνευματικῶς ἡμᾶς πιστοί.	After the end of Orthros, the furnace made ready and the children likewise in white clothes, the choir around the furnace sing the *idiomelon*, the *"Spiritually we faithful."*
τούτου δὲ ψαλλομένου εἰσέρχονται οἱ παῖδες ἐντὸς τῆς καμίνου, καὶ προσκυνοῦσι κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τρίς· καὶ τοῦ ἰδιομέλου πληρωθέντος ἄρχεται ὁ δομέστικος ἀντίπωνον εἰς ἦχον πλ. δ′ μετὰ τοῦ στίχου·	And while singing this, the children enter into the furnace and bow to the east three times. And upon completion of the *idiomelon* the cantor begins the antiphonal hymn in the 4th plagal mode after the verse:
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά Σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.	*Blessed art thou Lord God of our fathers, may your name be praised and glorified for ever.*
Ποίημα κυροῦ Χένη τοῦ Κορώνη· ἦχ. Πλ. β′. Τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ὑπερύμνητε , ὑπερένδοξε Κύριε ὁ Θεός· τῶν Πατέρων καὶ ἡμῶν εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε.	Composition by Xenes of Korona, 2nd plagal mode: *Lord God of our fathers, praised, exalted art thou; and blessed art Thou Lord of our fathers.*[2]
Εἶτα τὸν στίχον.	Then the verse:
Στίχ. Καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἁγίαν τὴν τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν Ἰρουσαλήμ.	Verse: *And also in the holy city of our fathers, Jerusalem.*
Τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν.	*[God] of our fathers.*[3]
Στίχ. Καὶ διεχεῖτο ἡ φλὸξ ἐπάνω τῆς καμίνου ἐπὶ πήχεις τεσσαράκοντα ἐννέα· ἕτερον ἄλλαγμα παλαιόν.	Verse: *And the flame streamed above the furnace, forty-nine cubits high:* [then] another old chorus:[4]

[1] As found in A. E. Lavriotes, "Ἀκολουθεία Ψαλλομένη," 345-346. Velimirović only offers Lavra 165's variants in footnote form

[2] Exactly who sings these verses is hard to decipher; the fact that the children have no verses designated for them indicates Lavra 165 is a distinct variation.

[3] As Velimirović notes ("Liturgical Drama," 382), this chorus' placement reinforces its role as a reminder to sing it after each verse.

[4] Like Chryasphes' *Office*, this version includes alternate musical settings.

Τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν εὐλογηητὸς εἶ Κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Εἶτα ἠχήζει ὁ Δομέστικος ἀπήχημα πλ. β΄. ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ δεύτερος χορός.

Εἶτα πάλιν τὸν στίχον. Καὶ διώδευσε καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν, οὓς εὗρε περὶ τὴν κάμινον τῶν Χαλδαίων

Εἰς δὲ τὸ τέλος τοῦ σχήματος ψάλλεται τοῦτο ἀπὸ χοροῦ. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε σῶσον ἡμᾶς.

Εἶτα λέγεται ᾀσματικὸν ἐκ τῶν ᾠδῶν.

Καὶ εὐθὺς πάλιν τοὺς στίχους μετὰ τῶν Ἀντιφώνων· ὅταν δὲ φθάσῃ οὗτος ὁ στίχος.

Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν Κάμινον.

Καταβιβάζουσι τὸν ἄγγελον λευκὰ ἐνδεδυμένον μετὰ ὡραρίου πορφυροῦ, καὶ ψάλλουσι.

Ποίημα Κυρ. Χένη τοῦ Κορώνη πλ. β΄. Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε τῶν ἁγίων Σου, ὑπερύμνητε, ὑπερένδοξε Κύριε, ὁ Θεός τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν, εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε σῶσον ὑμᾶς.

Ἕτερον Κυρ. Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη ψαλλόμενον ἕν παρ᾽ ἕν.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ δι᾽ ἄγγελου τοὺς παῖδας ἐκ φλογὸς διασώσας, καὶ τὴν βροντῶσαν κάμινον μεταβαλὼν εἰς δρόσον, Εὐλογητὸς εἶ Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν Πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Εἶτα ὁ στίχος· Καὶ ἐξετίναξε τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πυρός ἐκ τῆς καμίνου, πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον.

Τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ Θεός.

Blessed art thou Lord of our fathers, save us.

Then the cantor sounds out the tuning, 2nd plagal [mode]. And the second choir similarly.

Then in turn the verse: *And it passed through and burned those it found around the furnace of the Chaldeans.*

And at the end of that figure, this is sung by the choir: *Blessed art thou Lord of our fathers, save us.*

Then a lyric hymn from the odes is sung.

And straightaway in turn the verses [are sung] antiphonally, and when it comes to this verse:

But just then, the angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with those around Azariah.

They lower the angel dressed in white with a purple *orarion*, and they sing·[5]

Composition by Xenes of Korones, 2nd plagal [mode]: *Blessed art thou Lord of thy saints, praised, glorified art thou Lord God of our fathers, blessed art thou Lord, save us.*

Another sung by Manuel Chrysaphes, as an alternative:

Blessed art thou God who brought salvation to the children from the fire through an angel, and changed the thunderous furnace to dew. Blessed art thou God of our fathers.

Then the verse: *And he blew out the flame of the fire out of the furnace . . . a breeze of dew passing through.*[6]

Blessed art thou God of our holy fathers.

---

[5] The author refers to an icon *painted* in white and purple, the traditional deacon's garb.
[6] A paraphrase of Dan. 3.49-50 (LXX).

Στίχ. Τὸτε οἱ τρεῖς ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ὕμνουν καὶ ἐβόουν, καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τη καμίνῳ λέγοντες.

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ ὁ Θεὸς.

Ψάλλεται οὖν καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ στιχολογία εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ μέλος· καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος αὐτῆς εὐθὺς ἠχῄζει ὁ Δομέστικος· εἶτα λέγεται ᾀσματικὸν, καὶ ἄρχεται ἡ ὀγδόη ᾠδὴ πλ. β΄.

Στίχ. Εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα Κυρίου τὸν Κύριον.

Τὸν Κύριε ὑμνεῖτε τὰ ἔργα ὑμνεῖτε, εὐλογεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Τούτου δὲ ψαλλουμένου χορεύουσιν οἱ παῖδες ἐντὸς τῆς καμίνου, ἐντείνουσι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰ ὄμματα ἄνω. Ὅτε δὲ φθάση εἰς τὸ μέσον τῆς ᾠδῆς, εὐθὺς ἠχῄζει ὁ Δομέστικος, εἶτα ὁ ἕτερος χορὸς ἤχημα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ᾀσματκὸν. Εἶτα ψάλλονται τὰ ἐπίλοιπα τῆς ωδῆς· καὶ εὐθὺς "αἰνοῦμεν, εὐλογοῦμεν" Σοὶ τῷ παντουργῷ -- Φλόγα δροσίζουσαν ὁσίους -- Εὐλογεῖτε παῖδας -- Νικεταὶ τυράννου.

Εἶτα ἄρχεται ἡ λειτουργία.

Μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς 3 ᾠδῆς, ψάλλεται τοῦτο ἀντὶ ἀσματικοῦ Κυροῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Γαζῆ. Συνετέθη δὲ καὶ ἐγράφη παρὰ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρυσάφη.

Ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος Κυρίου συγκατέβη ἅμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαρίαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον· καὶ ἐξετίναξε τὴν φλόγα τοῦ πυρὸς, καὶ ἐποίησε τὸ μέσον τῆς καμίνου, ὡς πνεῦμα δρόσου διασυρίζον·

.

Verse: *Then the three in the furnace praised, cried out and glorified God as if with one mouth, saying:*

Blessed art thou God.

Then the last *stichology* [i.e., the Song of the Three Children] is sung in this melody: and at the end, straightaway the cantor sounds out: then a lyric is sung, and the eighth ode begins, 2nd plagal:

Verse: *Bless the Lord all ye words of the Lord.*

Praise the Lord ye works, praise, bless and exalt him forever.

And while this is sung the children dance inside the furnace, holding their hands and eyes upward. And when it comes to the middle of the ode, straightaway the cantor sounds out, then the other choir [makes a] tone,[7] and after this a lyric hymn. Then the rest of the ode is sung. And straightaway: *We praise, we bless . . . To you the Almighty . . . The fire, sprinkled with dew . . . Praise, children, . . . The tyrant is defeated . . .*[8]

Then the liturgy is begun.[9]

At the end of the 7th ode, this is sung instead of the lyric hymn by Manuel of Gaza. Assembled and written down by Manuel Chrysaphes:

But just then, the angel of the Lord came down into the furnace together with those around Azariah. And he struck the flame of the fire out of the furnace, a breeze of dew passing through:

[7] In monasteries, the two choirs face each other across the nave, each in their "choir" or transept.
[8] Incipits for canons and verses for the Office.
[9] This alternate setting for Daniel 3:49-51 (LXX) by Manuel Chrysaphes is included in Lavriotis' transcription, but was left out of Velimirovic's synoptic edition of the *Office*.

καὶ οὐχ ἥψατο αὐτῶν τὸ καθόλου τὸ πῦρ; οὐδὲ ἐλύπησεν· οὐδὲ παρινώχλησε· τότε οἱ τρεῖς, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος, ὕμνουν καὶ ηὐλόγουν καὶ ἐδόξαζον τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ λέγοντες -- ἀπὸ χοροῦ -- εὐλογεῖτε πάντα τὰ ἔργα τὸν Κύριον κτλ.

And the fire didn't touch them at all, nor did it harm or trouble them. Then the three, as if with one mouth, praised and blessed and glorified God in the furnace, saying -- by the chorus -- Bless the Lord, all ye works.

Appendix 6: Archbishop Symeon's Dialogue in Christ

Excerpt from the *Dialogue in Christ*, by Archbishop Symeon of Thessalonica

ΚΕΦΑΛ. ΚΓ'

Ὅτι δεῖ ἀνιστορεῖν εὐλαβῶς τὰ θεῖα καὶ εὐσεβῶς, καὶ κατὰ τὴν δεδομένην συνήθειαν.[1]

Τί δὲ καὶ ἄλλο αὐτοῖς παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἐκαινοτομήθη παράδοσιν; τῶν ἁγίων καὶ σεπτῶν [112B] εἰκόνων εὐσεβῶς παραδεδομένων εἰς τιμὴν τῶν θείων πρωτοτύπων, καὶ τὴν κατὰ σχέσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ἁγίων εἰκονισμάτων προσκύνησιν τοῖς πιστοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐμφαινόντων ἐκονικῶς. Τὸν γὰρ σαρκωθέντα Λόγον δι' ἡμᾶς εἰκνοίζουσι, καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ θεῖα ἔργα καὶ πάθη καὶ θαύματα και μυστήρια, καὶ ἔτι τὸ πανάγιον εἶδος τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ ἀειπαρθένου μητρὸς, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἅπερ ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ ἱστορία καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ θεῖαι Γραφαὶ λέγουσιν, ὡς γράμμασιν ἄλλοις, τῇ χρωματουργία καὶ λοιπῇ ὕλῃ εἰκονικῶς ἐκδιδάσκουσιν, οὗτοι πάντα καινοτομοῦντες, ὡς εἴρηται, καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς εἰκόνας παρὰ τὸ νενομισμένον ἑτέρῳ τρόπῳ πολλάκις ἀνιστοροῦσιν, ἀντὶ εἰκονικῶν ἐνδυμάτων τε καὶ τριχῶν, ἀνθρωπείαις θριξὶ καὶ στολαῖς [C] καλλωπίζοντες, ὅπερ οὐκ εἰκὼν τριχὸς καὶ ἐνδύματος, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπου τινός εἰσι θρὶξ καὶ ἔνδυμα, καὶ οὐχὶ εἰκών τε τῶν πρωτοτύπων καὶ τύπος.

CHAPTER 23:

That it is necessary to portray divine matters piously and righteously, and in accordance with tradition.

But what else have they introduced, contrary to Church tradition? The holy and august images have been offered piously in honor of divine prototypes, and indicate iconically both veneration in representing these holy images by the faithful, and the truth. For they represent the Word Made Flesh for our sake, and all of His divine works and sufferings and miracles and mysteries on our behalf, and moreover the sacrosanct image of His holy ever-virgin mother, and His saints, and the very things of which the Gospel and the rest of Divine Scripture speak, as in other writings, they teach iconically, through coloring and the rest of the materials [i.e., of painting]. These men are always innovating, as is said, and they often portray holy images contrary to tradition in another way; and instead of using the clothing and hairstyles in icons, they dress them up with human hair and garments – not the image of hair and garments, but they are the hair and garments of some person, and not the *icon* and model (*typos*) of their prototypes.

[1] Text from *Patrologia Graeca* 155.112-123. Citations follow Migne's system of pagination and division for the Greek text. The author would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Fisher for her assistance in preparing this translation.

Καὶ παρὰ τὸ εὐλαβὲς δὲ ἀνιστοροῦσι ταύτας καὶ καλλωπίζουσιν, ὅπερ κατὰ τῶν ἁγίων εἰκόνων ἐστὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ὁ τῆς οἰκουμνεικῆς ἕκτης συνόδου κανὼν ὑποτίθησιν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνιστορεῖν φησιν αὐτὸς τὰ τοὺς ἁπλουστέρους μὴ ὠφελοῦντα. Καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν τάξιν οὐκ εὐαγές. Καὶ οἱ Πατέρες τοῦτο οὐ παραδέχονται. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν δράματί τινα ποιοῦσι παρὰ τοὺς θείους θεσμούς. Οἱνεὶ γὰρ ἐξεικονίζοντες τὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελισμοῦ τῆς Παρθένου καὶ Θεομήτορος, καὶ τὰ τῆς σταυρώσεως τοῦ Σωτῆρος καὶ λοιπὰ, ἐπὶ τριόδων καὶ πλατειῶν ἀνθρώπους καθιστῶσι [112D] παρὰ τὴν τάξιν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν τυποῖ τὴν Παρθένον, καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνον Μαριὰμ αὐτοὶ ὀνομάζουσιν· ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ὀνομάζετει· ὁ δὲ Παλαιὸς τῶν ἡμερῶν, ᾧ καὶ περτιθέασι τρίχας λευκὰς εἰς τὸν πώγωνα. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι κείρουντες ταύτας θρυπτικῶς καὶ παρὰ τοὺς θεσμοὺς τῆς φύσεως οἱ Λατῖνοι, ἀλλοτρίας τιθέασιν, ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐνεργεῖν δεικνύμενοι. Εἰ γὰρ τρίχας εἰκονικῶς ἔχειν εἶδον οἱ προφῆται τὸν Θεὸν, εἰς τιμήν ἄρα τῆς φύσεως καὶ κατὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ, ἐν ἡμῖν οἱ τρίχες. Λοιπὸν παρὰ γνώμην Θεοῦ ποιοῦσι καὶ εἰς ἀτιμίαν τῆς φύσεως οἱ κείροντὲς, καὶ μάλιστα ἱερωμένοι καὶ μοναχοὶ, οἷς καὶ ἀπηγέρευται τὸ θεραπεύειν τὴν σάρκα, Ἀλλὰ καὶ κατέχοντα ποιοῦσι περιστερὰν τὸ πτηνὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος τὸν [113A] Παλαιὸν τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐνταῦθα πάλιν καθ' ἑαυτῶν φρονεῖν οὗτοι δεικνύμοι.

And they depict these things and dress them up contrary to piety, which is opposed to holy icons, as the canon from the sixth ecclesiastical council establishes. For it prohibits depicting things that do not benefit simpler folk. And that which is contrary to canon law is not pure. And the Fathers do not practice this. But moreover, they produce some things as if in a drama, contrary to divine law. For contrary to the canons, they put men at crossroads and on platforms, as if they were representing iconically things pertaining to the Annunciation of the Virgin and Mother of God, and the crucifixion of the Savior, etc. And one models on behalf of the Virgin, and they call that man Mary; another is called the angel, and another the Ancient of Days, on whom they put white hair for a beard. For since the Latins don't hold shaving them to be effeminate and contrary to natural law they put on fake ones, hence showing they contrive things as they see fit. For if the prophets saw that God has a beard, iconically speaking, we too have beards in honor of nature and according to what God intended. So they act contrary to what God intended, shaving to the disgrace of nature, especially priests and monks, who defend this bodily vanity.[2] Moreover, they portray the Ancient of Days holding onto a winged dove in place of the Holy Spirit, thereby showing that they follow their own devices.[3]

[2] Lit, "by whom caring for [or flattering] the body is defended." See *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. "θεραπεύω," especially II.2. .

[3] Doves feature prominently in some *rappresentazioni*, but are usually caged; see for example Young, *Medieval Drama,* 1.489-491 & 2.243-255.

Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸ Πνεῦμα δοξάζουσι, πῶς οὐχι καὶ Υἱὸν Τῷ Παλαιῷ τῶν ἡμερῶν συγκαθίζουσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἄμφω τὴν περιστερὰν ἀποστέλλωσιν; Ἀλλ' ὤφειλον παλὶν καὶ Υἱὸν ἀπστέλλειν πρὸς ὃν καλοῦσι Μαριάμ. Οὐ γὰρ τὸ Πνεῦμα σεσάρκωται, εἰ καὶ ἐπεσκίαζε τῇ Παρθένῳ. Ἀλλὰ παρὰ λόγον ἅπαντα ταῦτα, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀλλότρια παραδόσεως, καὶ εἰς ὕβριν μᾶλλον τῶν μυστηρίων, καὶ τῆς Χριστιανικῆς εὐλαβείας. Τί δὲ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς τυπούμενα χάριν Χριστοῦ τῆς σταυφώσεως; Αἷμα ζώων ἀλόγων ἐν χολάσι ζώων εἰσάγοντες, ἀντὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ ῥέειν κατασκευάζουσιν αἵματος, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ δῆθεν ἐσταυρωμένου ἀνθρώπου τινὸς χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν τε καὶ τῆς πλευρᾶς [113B]. Τις ἄρα ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ σταυρούμενος; τί δὲ τό αἷμα; ἀλήθεια, ἤ εἰκών; Καὶ εἰ μὲν εἰκών, πῶς ἄνθρωπος καὶ αἷμα; οὐ γὰρ ἡ εἰκών ἄνθρωπος. Εἰ δ' ἀλήθειᾳ ἄνθρωπος καὶ αἷμα, οὐκ ἄρα εἰκών. Καὶ λοιπὸν τὶς ἐκεῖνος; καὶ τί τὸ αἷμα ἐκεῖνο; καὶ τίνος ἄρα λογιστέον αὐτὸ, τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ἢ κοινόν; Βαβαὶ τῆς ἀτοπίας! κατὰ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰκόνων ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Εὐαγγελίων εἰσὶ, καὶ τῶν φρικτῶν μᾶλλον τοῦ Χριστοῦ μυστηρίων. Ἀλλὰ πόθεν ταῦτα παρέλαβον; τίς τῶν ἁγίων τοιαῦτα παρέδωκεν; Ἀληθῶς πάντα κεκαινοτομήκασιν οὗτοι. Καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τριόδων καὶ πλατειῶν, ἀνθρώπους καθιστῶντες παρὰ τὴν τάξιν, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ θαυμαστῶν ἐξ ὧν μὴ θέμις, δραματουργίας ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, καὶ τὴν περιστερὰν τὸ ὄρνεον Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ὀνομάζοντες [C].

For if they believe the Spirit proceeds also from the Son, why don't they portray the Son sitting together with the Ancient of Days, so that both dispatch the dove?[4] But instead, they should also send the Son to the one they call Mary. For the Spirit was not incarnated, even though it hovered over the Virgin. Yet all these things are contrary to reason, alien to Church tradition, and designed to insult the mysteries and Christian piety. And what things are modeled for the sake of Christ's crucifixion? Putting blood from brute animals into animals' guts, they substitute it for the Lord's blood, to man's hands and feet and chest, as he pretends to be crucified. What, then, is that man being crucified? And what is the blood? Real, or an icon? And if it's an icon, how on earth could it be a man and blood? For an icon is not a man. But if they are really man and blood, then it's not an icon. So then, what is that man? And what is that blood? And whose is it supposed to be, the Savior's, or is it shared? Bless me, how bizarre! These things are contrary to the holy icons and the Gospels and, moreover, the awesome mysteries of Christ. But why did they undertake these things? Which saint taught such things? Verily, these men have made innovations in everything. And they do these things at crossroads and on platforms, setting out men contrary to canon law; and exhibiting dramas about matters beyond reason, and about miracles which it is not right [to dramatize] and calling a dove, a bird, the Holy Spirit.

[4] A reference to the addition of *filioque*, "and the Son," to the Catholic creed.

Καὶ φθέγγονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ἀντιφθέγγονται τὰ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν. Καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα Μαριὰμ τὴν ἄλογον περιστερὰν ἀντὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὑποδέχεται. Πάλιν δὲ γε, ὡς ἔφημεν, σταυροῦνται τις, Χριστὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενος, καὶ ἡ σταύρωσις οὐκ ἀληθὴς, καὶ τὸ ῥέον αἷμα ζώου τινὸς εἰς ὕβριν τοῦ θεοῤῥύτου· καίτοι γε οὐχ οὕτω τὴν ἀνάμνησιν τῶν μυστηρίων ποιεῖν τοῦ Κυρίου προστάξαντος, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς παραδέδωκεν, ἐν οἷς ἐνεργεῖ πάλιν αὐτὸς, καὶ ἱερουργεῖ ἑαυτόν· καὶ αὐτὸ ἐκείνου τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τὸ ἱερουργούμενον. Ἆρ' οὖν οὐκ ἐπισφαλῆ τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων οὕτω γινόμενα, καὶ λίαν ἐπισφαλῆ; Εἰ θέλεις, ἄνθρωπε, ταῦτα παριστᾷν, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διδάσκειν, ἱερούργει ὡς παραδέδωκε [113D], δίδασκε λόγοις, γράφε συγγράμμασιν, εἰκόνιζε καὶ διὰ χρωμάτων ὡς παραδέδοται· ὅπερ καὶ ὁ ἀληθής ἐστιν ἐξεικονισμὸς, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἐν Βίβλοις γραφὴ, καὶ χάρις ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστι θεία, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ τυπούμενα ἅγια. Ἀλλ' οὗτοι παρατραπέντες ἐφάπαξ, εἰς ἃ μὴ δεῖ τρέχουσιν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς καμίνου τῶν παιδῶν ἡμᾶς αἰτιάσονται, ἀλλ' οὐ χαιρήσουσιν ὅλως. Οὐ γὰρ ἀνάπτομεν κάμινου, ἀλλὰ κηροὺς μετὰ φώτων, καὶ θυμίαμα Θεῷ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος προσφέρομεν, καὶ ἄγγελον εἰκονίζομεν, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀποστέλλομεν. Παῖδας δὲ μόνον ὑμνοῦντας καθαροὺς ὡς ἐκείνους τοὺς παῖδας τρεῖς παριστῶμεν, ᾄδειν αὐτοὺς τὴν ᾠδὴν ἐκείνων ὡς παραδέδοται.

And such men chant and respond these things on feast days.[5] And the pretend Mary receives a stupid dove instead of the Spirit. And again, as we said, someone is crucified, called Christ by these men, the crucifixion is not real, and the shedding of blood from some animal is an insult to the flowing blood of God. And yet the Lord commands that we commemorate the mysteries not in this way but rather as He Himself taught, through which He acts again and ministers himself; and the body and blood being sanctified are his. So then, aren't things of this sort perilous, and extremely perilous? My man, if you wish to present these things and to teach men, minister as he handed it down to you; teach using words, write using treatises, and make icons with colors, as is traditional. Wherefore also the truth is formed in a perfect image, like the writing in a book, and divine grace is in them, also, since the things imprinted are holy. But these men, turning away once and for all, rush headlong to forbidden things. And if they should censure us for the furnace of the three children, yet shall they not rejoice completely.[6] For we do not light up a furnace, but candles for lights, and we offer incense to God as is customary, and we portray an image of an angel, we do not lower a man. And we offer only singing children, as pure as those Three Children, to sing the verses from their canticle according to tradition.

[5] Most *rappresentazioni* were performed to the accompaniment of chant.

[6] A discreet turn of phrase which can be taken to mean more bluntly "they shall repent of it." See *A Greek-English Lexicon*, s.v. χαιρῶ, especially section II. The author would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Fisher for this citation.

Οὕς παῖδας καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐσφραγισμένοι καὶ ἱεροὶ τυποῦσι παίδες. Καὶ ἱερωμένοι δὲ πάντες, ἕκαστος [116A] τὸν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τυποῖ τάξεως· και τὸν Κύριον μὲν ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐπίσκοποι δὲ τοὺς πρώτους τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν χάριν ἔχουσι· πρεσβύτεροι δὲ γε τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα· διάκονοι δὲ τοὺς Λευΐτας· ὑποδιάκονοι δὲ καὶ λοιποὶ τὴν τάξιν τῶν προφητῶν. Καὶ καθ' ἕτερον δὲ σκοπὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς τὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα Θεὸν Λόγον ἐκτυποῖ· πρεσβύτεροι δὲ τὰς ὑπερκειμένας τῶν τάξεων· διάκονοι δὲ τὰς ὑποδεεστέρας λειτουργικὰς δυνάμεις· καὶ ὁ λοιπὸς δὲ κλῆρος τὰς τελευταίας τάξεις μετὰ τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου λαοῦ.

Καὶ παντες οὗτοι καὶ τάξιν ἔχουσι κατὰ τοὺς βαθμοὺς, καὶ ἀναλογοῦσαν τὴν χάριν. Διὸ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπᾷδον τὸ εἰκονίζειν παῖδας τοὺς τρεῖς ἐκείνους παῖδας, ὅτι καὶ δυνατὸν τὴν χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῶν. Τὸ δὲ εἰκονίζειν ἐν τῇ σταυρώσει τὸν Κύριον [116B], καὶ σφάττεσθαι δοκεῖν, καὶ αἷμα ἐκχέειν, οὐκ ἀληθῶς οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν θείαν παράδοσιν. Καὶ τὴν Θεομήτορα δὲ εἰκονίζεσθαι δι' ἀνδρὸς ἢ γυναίου, καὶ πτηνὸν ἀντὶ Πνεύματος δέχεσθαι, λίαν ἄτοπον. Καὶ τὸ διὰ τριχῶν ἀλλοτρίων καὶ ἐνδυμάτων ἐξεικονίζειν τὰ τῶν ἁγίων μορφώματα, καὶ καλλωπίζειν παρὰ τὸ εὐσεβὲς, οὐκ ἐνδομένον παρὰ τοῖς Πατράσι· καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ ὥσπερ ἐν σκηνῇ τε καὶ δράματι τὰ θεῖα δεικνύναι οὐκ εὐλαβὲς, καὶ μὴ δεδομένον. μηδὲ Χριστιανοῖς ἄξιον. Εἰ δ' εἴποιεν ὡς καὶ οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα διενεργοῦντες ἱερεῖς τελοῦσι καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο δυνατὸν αὐτοὺς τὸν Κύριόν τε καὶ τὴν παρθένον αὐτοῦ μητέρα τυποῦν, οὐκ εὔλογον ἐν τούτοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν.

And all these children sealed [in Christ] and holy, typify those Children. And since all are consecrated, each typifies the one of his own rank. And while the first hierarch typifies the Lord, the bishops typify the first of the apostles, since they also possess their grace, and the priests the seventy; and the deacons the Levites; and the other sub-deacons the rank of the Prophets. And from another perspective the ranking heirarch typifies the Divine Word made flesh, the priests the higher-placed ranks, the deacons the lower liturgical powers; and the rest of the clergy, along with the Orthodox laity, the lowest ranks.

And all of them have rank according to their station, and a corresponding grace. Wherefore it is not unfitting for the children to portray those three Children, for it is possible to possess their grace. But to portray the Lord in a crucifixion, and to pretend he is killed, and pours forth blood, is neither truthful nor according to divine tradition. And for the Mother of God to be portrayed through a man or a weak woman, and to receive a dove instead of the Holy Spirit, is entirely out of place. And to decorate the saints using someone else's hair and garments, and dressing them up contrary to piety, is not handed down by the Fathers; simply put, to reveal divine things as if on-stage in a drama is not pious, not handed down, nor worthy of Christians. And if they should say that practicing priests perform these things, and therefore it is possible for them to model the Lord and his virgin mother – it makes no sense to perform in them.

Τυπουῦσι μὲν γὰρ ἐν οἷς δέον, ἐν τῷ βαπτίζειν, ἐν τῷ ἱερουργεῖν, ἐν τῷ νίπτειν τοὺς [C] πόδας αλλήλων, ὡς καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς οἷς εἴρηκεν ὁ Σωτὴρ, οἷς ἐνεργεῖν ἱεράρχας καὶ ἱερεῖς παραδέδεονται. Καὶ τοὺς ὑμνῳδοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν ἐσφραγισμένους, ἐν τῷ ἀναγινώσκειν τε καὶ ὑμνεῖν. Οὐ μὴν δὲ γε σταυροῦσθαι καὶ ἐκχέειν αἷμα ψευδῶς, ἢ μάλλον αἷμα ζώου· εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον ἀληθῶς οἰκεῖον αἷμα ἐκχέειν τις αἱρεῖται, καὶ ἔτι κατὰ τὸ σταυρῶσαι τὴν σάρκα σὺν τοῖς μαθήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις (καθάπερ Παῦλος φησιν) ἀγωνίζεται, καὶ τὸ, ὅτι <Ἐμοὶ ὁ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται, καγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ,> καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο πάντες σπευδέτωσαν. Καὶ τὴν Παρθένον δὲ Θεοτόκον οὐδεὶς ἐκμιμεῖσθαι δύναται ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἁγνείαν, ἢ τὸ ἐν Πνεύματι συλλαμβάνειν σακρὶ καὶ τίκτειν τὸν Κύριον, ὅτι μόνον τοῦτο καὶ παρὰ μόνῃ· μιμεῖται δὲ τις αὐτὴν, ἀγνῶς [116D] βιῶν καὶ παρθενεύειν αἱρούμενος, ἄξιος τε τῆς ὑποδοχῆς τῆς χάριτος ὡς δυνατὸν δεδειγμένος. Εὐκτέον τοίνυν ἐν τούτοις ὡς ἐγχωρεῖ πάντας αὐτὴν ἐκμιμήσασθαι. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς τὰς γραφομένας θείας εἰκόνας ταῦτά φασιν, οὐ κατὰ λόγον ὁ λόγος, ὅτι ἐν εἰκονίσμασι μὲν ἀληθῶς εἰκών, καὶ Χριστοῦ εἰκών γραφομένη, καὶ αἷμα εἰκονιζόμενον, καὶ Θεοῦ μήτηρ ἐν εἰκόνι, καὶ ἄγγελος, καὶ ἀπόστολος, καὶ ἱεράρχης, καὶ μάρτυς, καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς, καὶ πάντα εἰκὼν, καὶ ὡς τῶν θείων εἰκόνες τε καὶ γραφαὶ, προσκυνηταὶ καὶ σεβάσμιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπους ταῦτα μιμεῖσθαι οὐκ εὐαγές.

For they model what is needed in these: in baptizing, in conducting services, in washing each other's feet, as well as the rest that the Savior told us, that is given to priests and hierarchs to do. And the singers too, who are given authority to read, do so in reading and singing. Surely not in being crucified and shedding blood falsely or, worse, blood from an animal; unless someone is asked to shed his own blood as a true martyr, so that he is afflicted in the flesh as in the crucifixion with suffering and passions, (as Paul said), so that "The world is crucified to me, and I to the world,"[7] and everyone ought to hasten to do this. And nobody is capable of playing the Virgin birth-giver of God (*Theotokos*) whether with respect to her chastity, or the reception of the Holy Spirit into her flesh and the bearing of the Lord, as she alone did this, and by herself; but he who imitates her example, living chastely and seeking to live as a celibate, is also worthy of the reception of grace, as much as can be given. Moreover, it ought to be desired by everyone to imitate her in these agreed ways. But if they say these things are like divine painted icons, their reasoning is unreasonable, since what is in images is truly an icon -- the painted icon of Christ, the iconized blood, and the mother of God in an icon, and an angel, and an apostle, and a bishop and a martyr, and the Holy Spirit in the shape of a dove, and every icon, since icons and scripture are from divinity, is honorable and worthy of veneration: but the imitation of these things by men is not pious.

[7] Gal. 6.14. In this letter Paul, like Symeon, attempts to refute a powerful heresy dividing his flock (in his case, Christian circumcision).

Appendix 7: The Russian Furnace Play

As described in Chapter 6 of this study, extant versions of the Byzantine *Office of the Three Children* point towards a devolution in the rite from its most elaborate incarnation in early 15th century Thessalonica to a more somber, Orthros-like phase in the rubrics of Sinai 1527. By contrast, the Russian branch of the Orthodox Church appears to have adopted a distinctly Latin-style representational strategy for its own version of the *Office*, commonly known as the *Peshchnoe diestvo*, or “Furnace Play.” Miloš Velimirović, in his survey of the evidence for the Russian version, notes three key elements not included in the Byzantine version: two “Chaldeans,” who engage in a spoken dialogue with the choirboys; special fire effects (of the sort Symeon specifically avoided); and loud noise instead of the narrative verse from Daniel to herald the icon-angel’s descent.[1]

Expense accounts from the church of St. Sophia in Novgorod, a northern Russian commercial center, confirm performances of the *Furnace Play* (with special costumes for each character) during the early sixteenth century.[2] Instructions from another sixteenth-century manuscript from Volokolamsk indicate that the play was performed as a part of the Orthros – not set apart, as in the Byzantine tradition. Few verses from the Children’s canticles are cited, but what verses are mentioned confirm that the canticles dominated the musical portion of the performance.

What has changed, substantially, is the visual and dramatic context in which the canticles are sung: the Volokolamsk manuscript calls for two men dressed as

---

[1] Velimirović, “Liturgical Drama,” 365.
[2] Velimirović, “Liturgical Drama,” 366.

Chaldeans to lead the choirboys, bound, before the Archbishop, where the boys sing a hymn and receive candles. The Chaldeans lead the children into the "furnace" (which, in another innovation, was very likely a distinct set piece),[3] and then "sprinkle the furnace" – i.e., create fire effects. The Chaldeans are instructed to perform a pantomime of submission upon the descent of the angel,[4] prostrating themselves on either side of the "furnace," and then standing with hats removed, holding palm branches and candles. They call out the choirboys by the Children's names, lead them out of the "furnace" back to the Archbishop, where the boys sing a traditional encomion wishing the hierarch "many years" (which was still sung in the original Byzantine Greek: "*Polla ta etē*").[5]

The music for the *Furnace Play* consists chiefly of the Children's canticles, with one kanon thrown in at the end. One manuscript of the play appears to have been created along the lines of Chrysaphes' *Office*, with rubrics for a featured soloist who provides the key passages and cues the children and choir with the melodies.[6] The chief departure from Byzantine precedent is evidence, found by Velimirović, for the use of polyphony instead of traditional monophonic chant with drones.[7]

A detailed list of expenses related to an early seventeenth-century performance of the *Furnace Play* at the Church of the Dormition of the Virgin

---

[3] See Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 370, for instructions on removing the ambo (presumably wood and portable), replacing it with a "furnace," and testing the angel from a chain usually reserved for a chandelier (See also "Liturgical Drama," plates 6 & 7, for an ambo/"furnace" as exhibited in the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg).

[4] Velimirović ("Liturgical Drama," 367-368) notes that the *Furnace Play* is usually called "The Rite of the Lowering the Angel," so that even if this early version doesn't specifically mention this action it very likely took place and was the highlight of the play. That the angel is three-dimensional can be inferred from rubrics for one performance that call for the choirboys to take an arm or a leg of the angel as they dance during the Benedicite ("Liturgical Drama," 372).

[5] Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 368.

[6] See Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 371, on the role of the archdeacon in one version.

[7] Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 373-374. Russian chant continues to distinguish itself for its polyphony.

(Uspenskiĭ Sobor), located in the Kremlin in Moscow, gives some idea of the elaborate preparations involved for the Tsar's church: money went to carpenters for construction of the "furnace," for bolts of red cloth for the Chaldean costumes, to blacksmiths for some 21 hooks and no less than 200 candlesticks, for ermine and gilding for the children's caps, for upwards of one hundred pounds of fire powder[8] and thirteen powder horns, etc. Even the angel – an icon in the Byzantine tradition – was apparently form-cut from parchment or paper.[9]

Given the elaborate showmanship of the *Furnace Play*, and its roots in Byzantine ceremony, Velimirović posits two origins for this theatrical Russian rite: Byzantium for the basic rite itself, perhaps as early as the fourteenth century; and Italy, where Russians had witnessed elaborate *sacre rappresentazioni* since at least the time of the Council in Florence in 1439.[10] Velimirović notes the marriage of Tsar Ivan III to a niece of the last Byzantine emperor in the 1470's, and that when the new Tsarina Zoe Palaeologina came to Russia from her exile in Italy, she brought a number of artisans with her.[11]

The complication with this scenario is the lack of evidence for the *Furnace Play* in Moscow prior to the late sixteenth and seventeenth century, well over a century after Zoe's arrival. An alternative scenario, recently proposed by Marina Swoboda, has the *Furnace Play* performed in early sixteenth-century Novgorod, under the direction of a progressive Archbishop Genadii (d. 1506). Genadii is

---

[8] Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," lists two purchases, one for 63 pounds of "stag horn moss" alone.
[9] Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 384-385.
[10] As translated in Newbigin, *Feste d'Oltrarno*, 2-7. Given the fact that the Council of Florence was repudiated by the Russian church, it is not clear whether Abraham's enthusiasm for these shows was shared by his superiors.
[11] Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 374.

credited with introducing a number of new rites into the Novgorodan calendar, and Swoboda finds it likely – given the historical rivalry between Moscow and Novgorod for political and cultural prominence – that the Archbishop would have instigated some of the first changes to the Byzantine *Office*.[12] In this way, if Moscow did not already have its own *Furnace Play* it would have been in a position to develop one shortly after the transfer of one of Genadii's successors, Archbishop Makarii, to the position of Metropolitan in the capitol city.[13]

Of special interest to theatre historians is the likelihood that the people hired to play the roles of Chaldeans were traditional Russian folk entertainers, the *skomorokh* (plural, *skomorokhi*). Given the integration of the Chaldeans into this theatrical church rite, it is probable that these *skomorokhi* were Christians. The origins and functions of the *skomorokh* have been explored by the present author, who concluded that of the many roles and guises the *skomorokhi* assumed, the most remarkable one was that of the Chaldeans. Dressed in the elaborate red costume of pagan functionaries, their role included bits of dialogue, beginning with threats against the Children:

> Chaldean #1: Are you the Tsar's [King Nebuchanazzar's] Children?
> Chaldean #2: (Howling, wolf-like echo) -- Children?
> Chaldean #1: Can you see this furnace with its great fire?
> Chaldean #2 -- And this furnace is being prepared to torture you![14]

The solemnity of the Russian liturgical hours was broken by traditional entertainers, who pretended to menace and growl their way through the biblical story. The

---

12 Swoboda, "The Furnace Play," 227-228.
13 Swoboda, "The Furnace Play," 228-229.
14 From A. Dmitrievskiĭ, "Chin peshchnago dieistva (The Fiery Furnace Play)," *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik* 1 (1894): 559.

Chaldeans were also responsible for feeding a charcoal brazier kept under the "furnace" with fire powder to create spectacular fire effects – which could be done by hand, but in Moscow was accomplished through lead horns.[15]

Given the brevity of the performance, and the evidence for an inordinate amount of fire-powder purchased for it, the question arises what these Chaldeans did with it all. Two travelers to Moscow provide a partial answer; both Elizabethan emissary Giles Fletcher and early seventheenth-century traveler Adam Olearius confirm that the Chaldeans kept their costumes and were at liberty to run around town for the twelve days before Epiphany, pulling pranks (some of them involving false fire) on their fellow citizens.[16] This places *The Furnace Play*, positioned as an Orthodox ritual, in the broader context of traditional winter festivals like the Calends (Russian: *Koliada*), with their mumming and street antics. The timing of the play – the Sunday before Christmas – places it within range of the Winter Solstice, which usually marked the beginning of these pagan celebrations.

The timing of the play, and the street theatrics associated with it, indicates a certain element of accommodation and/or appropriation of pagan festivals by the Church; this would go some way towards exaplaining why the authorities would have hired *skomorokhi*, who are repeatedly condemned in Russian chronicles for their

---

[15] For a film reconstruction of this performance see Part 2 of *Ivan the Terrible* , prod. and dir. Sergei M. Eisenstein, 235 min., Video Classics, 1947, videocassette. Filmed just a few years after the death of the theatre director Vsevelod Meierhold, this remarkable sequence features actors performing many of the circus-like physical stunts – walking on the inside of their heels, making distorted facial expressions, etc. – associated with the Biomechanics system.

[16] See Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, ed. Richard Pipes and John V. A. Fine Jr. (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 105-6; and Adam Olearius, *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia*, trans. Samuel H. Baron (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967), 241-2. A favorite trick was to use leftover moss-powder to 'set fire' to men's beards – dangerous, but according to Olearius great fun to watch.

paganism, to play the roles of the Chaldeans.[17]

Why would the church risk such a strong association with paganism? Perhaps because at this time of year, traditional *skomorokhi* presided over the actual *Koliada*. Given the *skomorokhi*'s generally subversive behavior, and their enduring popularity, it was perhaps inevitable the Church would try to harness their chaotic performance style in the service of Orthodoxy – not unlike the appropriation of mummer's parades by Byzantine Patriarch Theophylact (933-956) for use in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.[18] Of course, the Church used *skomorokhi* to promote an entirely different set of spiritual values. After all, the flames the *skomorokhi* tended were ineffectual, and the Chaldeans themselves were little more than bumblers, full of threats but utterly incompetent. It is as if these "pagan" performers were presiding over their own downfall.

Olearius also notes that the Chaldeans were considered pagans for as long as they wore their costumes, and were only 'cleansed' of their sinfulness after being baptized in a nearby river at the conclusion of the festival, on Epiphany. This would create an unusual spiritual situation where the Chaldeans were played by Christian *skomorokhi* who, because of their trade, were willing to commit acts of buffoonery, and undergo a particularly frigid re-baptism every year, in service of the Church. The cultural theorists Yuri Lotman and Boris Uspenskii regard phenomena like this as

[17] See Simon Karlinsky, *Russian Drama From its Beginnings to the Age of Pushkin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 5-6. Karlinsky claims the Church suspended its bans on the *skomorokhi* for the duration of their winter festival.
[18] Theophylact's carnival parades remained a fixture in Hagia Sophia for centuries: see Theodore Balsamon's late-twelfth century commentary on the Canon 62 from the Council in Trullo, *Patrologia Graeca*, 137.728b-c. Balsamon gives clear evidence that Theophylact's innovation was frowned upon by the purists, but that it remained quite popular and had yet to be discontinued.

examples of cultural binarism or 'double-faith,'[19] in which the polar opposites of Christianity and paganism find a unique mode of co-existence within Russian culture. These *skomorokhi* were clearly willing to go through hell and high water for the chance to indulge in their old antics, and urban *skomorokhi* had a unique opportunity to embody and perform the contradictions of contemporary Russian society, a society still clinging to its pagan roots but moving, albeit awkwardly, into the Christian era.[20]

In 1648 a decree by Tsar Aleksei banned all of the *skomorokhi*'s performances permanently. Earlier that year, Aleksei had nearly lost his life in a popular uprising; in the wake of the uprising, he held a special council designed to craft new legislation to ensure the people could not rise up again.[21] Among the advice he received was a memorable petition, sent by Gavril Malevich of Korsk, detailing the *skomorokhi*'s subversive, 'satanic' activity.[22] Malevich's petition created such a stir that when Tsar Aleksei sat down to write his decree, he copied several passages word-for-word, detailing the sins of the *skomorokhi*, and concluded:

> ... in all villages of any kind, men, women, wives and children on Sundays, on Holy days and High Saint's holidays, will go to God's church to sing ... and avoid disorderly drunks, especially the *skomorokhi* ... these people shall be punished wherever such disorder appears ...[23]

---

[19] See Yuri Lotman and Boris Uspenskii, "Binary Models in the Dynamics of Russian Culture (to the End of the Eighteenth Century)," in *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History,* ed. Alexander D. Nakhimovsky and Alice Stone Nakhimovsky (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 30-67.
[20] See Olearius, *Travels*, 241-242; Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama," 373; and B. V. Varneke, *History of the Russian Theatre: Seventeenth Through Nineteenth Century* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1951), 11-12. For an earlier account of *The Furnace Play* and its aftermath, see Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, 105-6.
[21] For a good account of this critical period in Russian history, see Philip Longworth, *Alexis: Tsar of all the Russias* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1984), 210 and ff.
[22] Gavril Malevich, "The Famous Petition of Gavril Malevich form the Town of Korsk," in *Russkie Skomorokhi* (Russian Minstrels), A. A. Belkin (Moscow, 1975), 173-5.
[23] Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, "Letter to Belgorod with the Text of the 'First' Tsar's Decree," in Belkin, *Russkie Skomorokhi*, 175-8.

Officially, the *skomorokhi* disappeared after this decree, and the *Furnace Play* along with them. Within a few generations, however, the story of the Three Children would rise again, this time realized as a western-style stage play. Simeon Polotskii's piece "About the Tsar Nebuacdnazzar, About the Golden Idol, and About the Three Boys Unburnt in the Furnace"[24] would speak to the enduring appeal of the old biblical story.

[24] See Swoboda, "*The Furnace Play*," 221-222, on later westernized versions.

Glossary

adventus. Originally, the ceremonial entrance of an emperor into a city. In Christian times, also applied to the ceremonial introduction of saints' relics.

akoloutheia. "Service" or "Office." Designates a festal rite of the Orthodox Church. Better known as ***asmatikē akoloutheia*** because they were chanted throughout.

ambo. "Pulpit." A raised platform with stairs, usually located along the central east-west axis of a nave. Used for readings, homilies, and liturgical chant.

architrave. A lintel made of stone or wood, set on top of columns; a common feature of **chancel screens** in early churches.

asmatikē akoloutheia. "Sung Office." Special services on high holy days in the Orthodox tradition, usually inserted between Orthros and the Divine Liturgy.

basilica. A traditional Roman meeting hall, later adapted for use as Christian churches.

Brumalia. In Roman times, a pagan festival held during the month leading up to the Winter Solstice. Later conducted under (Christian) imperial auspices.

cavea. The semi-circular seating area associated with theatres but also found in civic meeting halls and early churches (see ***synthronon***).

chancel screen. The barrier between the nave and sanctuary, consisting of waist-high marble slabs. Often (but not always) embellished with columns between the slabs that supported an ***architrave*** with iconographic program.

cheironomia. "Hand-rule." The system of hand gestures used by choir leaders to indicate the direction of a melody.

Cherubikon. "Cherubic." The hymn, composed in the late sixth century, normally sung to accompany the ceremonial entrance of the Eucharistic elements (the Great Entrance) during the liturgy.

Dark Ages. In western historiography, the period dating roughly from the fall of Roman "emperor" Romulus Augustulus to Odoacer in 476 CE and ending with the coronation of Charles the Great in 800 CE. Often misapplied to the Byzantine Empire.

diaconicon. "Deacon's room." In Middle and Late Byzantine churches, the southern chamber next to the sanctuary; used for storage of vestments and liturgical items. See also ***skeuophylakion*** and ***prothesis***.

diataxis**.** "Ordo" or "procedure." A term designating rubrics for the conduct of a specific Orthodox rite. Often includes musical notation.

Divine Liturgy. The traditional communion rite of the Orthodox Church. Since the **Middle Byzantine Period**, the version of the Liturgy most often used features prayer formulas attributed to fourth-century Patriarch (St.) John Chrysotomos.

Domus Ecclesia. "House-Church." Among the earliest places of Christian worship and fellowship, consisting of slightly modified "living rooms" in Roman apartment buildings.

Early Byzantine Period. Traditionally used to designate the period from the re-dedication of Byzantion as New Rome (later Constantinople) in 330 CE, until the reign of Heraclius (610-641 CE).

echos. "Sound." In Byzantine hymnography, used to designate the mode of a particular melody. See also **Octoechos**.

heirmos**.** A quickly-paced hymn on a given theme; the term is often used to designate individual odes from the **kanon**.

Epiclesis. "Invocation." The prayer during the Eucharistic rite inviting the Holy Spirit to transform the bread and wine on the altar into the body and blood of Christ.

ethopoeia. "Characterization." A common rhetorical advice in which the speaker adopts the voice of someone (or something) other than her/himself.

ethos. "Character." In Aristotle's *Poetics* it refers to speeches, songs and actions that, through their unique qualities, reveal a moral choice by a dramatic figure. In Ancient and Byzantine music, ***ethos*** designates the specific mood or moral sensibility evoked by a melody.

genus. "Race" or "Kind." In music, a specific way of tuning a ***tetrachord***, the foundation of Ancient Greek composition. Music theorists identified three key *genera* used in Ancient music: diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic.

hagiography. "Holy Writing." Any writing on sacred subjects, whether biblical or contemporary; also used specifically to designate saints' lives.

harmonia. "Tuning." In Ancient Greek musical practice, the specific set of notes used for a particular melody. Among ancient theorists, synonymous with ***tonos/tonoi***.

hypostaseis. "Substances." The third, most subtle class of musical notation used in Byzantine chant used to direct the means, dynamics and duration of various melodic movements.

histriones. Latin term for pantomimes, that remained a popular form of entertainment in Constantinople well into the Middle Byzantine period.

hypocritēs. "Answerer" or "Interpreter," hence "Actor." In Antiquity, used to designate a stage-actor; but in Jewish and Christian scripture, a term of invective for feigned, public expressions of piety.

icon/*eikon*. In Antiquity, a realistic representation of divinity in human and/or animal form. In Orthodox Christianity, a symbolic representation of a range of sacred figures in human form, from archangels to saints.

Iconoclastic Period. The period between 727-843 CE, during which Byzantine emperors fought unsuccessfully to ban the production and use of sacred images (**icons**).

kanon. "Law" or "Standard." A cycle of brief hymns inspired by the biblical canticles; in the Orthodox tradition, each **kanon** has nine odes, including the hymns associated with the Three Children.

katholikon. "General" or "Common." The central church of a monastic community.

kontakion/a. "Essay." A homily in the form of a hymn, originally performed after readings from scripture. Written in honor of biblical figures and events, and usually performed on high holy days.

kratema/ta. "Support" or "Hold-back." In Late Byzantine hymnography, passages of wordless chant consisting of nonsense syllables. Usually inserted in the middle of an existing hymn, but also composed as stand-alone pieces.

lampadarios. "Lamp-bearer." Title associated with the composer and leader of the second, left-hand choir at services in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. So called because he accompanied the Patriarch and/or emperor with a lamp during processions. Also served in the court for private performances. See also ***protopsaltes***.

Late Antiquity. Refers to a period of intense social and cultural change in the traditional Graeco-Roman city from the second to the early seventh centuries CE.

Late Byzantine Period. The period from the restoration of the Byzantine emperor in 1261 CE until Constantinople's fall to the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmet II, in 1453.

mappa. "Handkerchief." A ceremonial cloth, and part of imperial court dress. Dropping a *mappa* marked the beginning of a chariot race, not unlike the waving of a chequered flag at auto rallies today.

mese. "Center," or "Middle." The foundation of the Ancient Greek ***tetrachord***, and the note used most often to designate a melodic cadence.

martyrology. The category of saints' lives devoted to Christians who suffered torture and death for the faith.

Middle Byzantine Period. The period from the time of Emperor Heraclius (610-641 CE) until the fall of Constantinople to the Venetians and the Fourth Crusade (1204 CE).

nomos/oi. "Law, "Rule" or "Standard." In ancient music a specific type of melody, often with narrative connotations.

Octoechos. "Eight-Mode." The system of eight species of melody used in traditional Orthodox chant, formulated (by some accounts) in the **Early Byzantine Period**.

omphalos. "Navel." Since Antiquity, used to designate the mystical, vital center of a building or geographic region.

paidomazoma. "Child Tribute." The forced recruitment of non-Muslim boys for service in the Ottoman Sultan's court, often as Janissaries.

pneumata. "Spirits." Byzantine musical notation for melodic movements of two tones (approximately a third) or more.

pompa. "Procession." In Antiquity, a processional liturgy associated with festivals held in honor of both pagan gods and civic officials, often with the theatre as its terminus. In Christian parlance, all civic functions devoted to pagan deities, including theatrical performances.

proskynetaria. "Place for Adoration." Sacred images, erected on either side of the **chancel screen** for acts of personal devotion (*proskynesis*).

prothesis. "Offertory." In Middle and Late Byzantine churches, the room in the northeast corner next to the sanctuary, where the Eucharistic bread and wine were assembled and prepared for the Liturgy. Also a euphemism for the separate ***skeuophylakion*** building.

protopsaltes. "First singer." The composer and leader of the first, or right-hand choir for services in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Also served in the court for private performances. See also ***lampadarios***.

representatio. "Representation." In the Medieval west, the term used to designate enactments of biblical episodes by lay and clerical performers.

scenae frons. "Stage front." A multi-tiered decorative wall depicting sculpted and/or painted images of pagan deities as well as imperial and local officials. Long

associated with the theatre, but also used to front other civic buildings (libraries, etc.).

secular. In pagan Rome, a term designating sacred games celebrated roughly once every one hundred years (*saeculum* = "century"). In modern times, used to designate civic matters largely devoid of religious connotations.

skeuophylakion. "Storage place." An exterior building near the northeast corner of early churches (especially Hagia Sophia in Constantinople) used for storage of liturgical vestments and other items (see also ***diakonikon***). In Constantinople, it also featured an oven for baking the Eucharistic bread.

solea. A raised walkway bounded by waist-high marble slabs or banister railings, connecting the sanctuary's main entrance with the ***ambo***.

somata. "Bodies." Byzantine musical notation for melodic movements of one tone (equivalent to a second).

Syntagma. "Compendium." In Middle Byzantine literature, a sort of mini-encyclopedia summarizing the key elements of the four sciences that formed the core school curriculum.

synthronon. "Communal throne." In civic or imperial **basilicas** the semi-circular, ***cavea***-like seating area for high officials. In Byzantine churches, the seating area inside the sanctuary reserved for the clergy and hierarchs.

temenos. "Precinct." Used to designate the land surrounding a pagan temple, the dimensions of which varied in accordance with imperial edicts.

templon. In Middle Byzantine usage, a sanctuary barrier that included an architrave decorated with sacred images. In later usage a sanctuary barrier with intercolumnar icons – hence "*templon* screen."

tetrachord. "Four-String." The basic building block of Ancient Greek musical composition, consisting of four notes spanning an interval of approximately two and a half tones.

theatron. "Seeing place." In Antiquity, the seating area in a performance venue. In Middle Byzantine parlance, a small-scale performance of letters and speeches for the academic and political elite.

typikon. "Ordo" or "Exemplar." A liturgical sourcebook with instructions for the conduct of various Orthodox services. Used in concert with numerous other service books that contained the complete formulas, lyrics and musical notation for each rite.

typos. “Type,” or “Model.” Used to empasize the symbolic function of an image, person, vestment or item used in traditional Orthodox services; a sacred image was honored as a “type” or “model” of its divine “prototype.”

venationes. “Hunting.” In Roman times, spectacles in which animals and/or humans hunted each other to the death. By the **Middle Byzantine Period** replaced by *lagokynegia*, rabbit-hunts with dogs.

Verba Domini. “Words of the Lord.” The words spoken by Jesus at the Last or Mystical Supper, recited as part of Eucharistic prayers in both the eastern and western tradition.

Bibliography

MANUSCRIPTS

Athens National Library
MSS 2047, 2406.

Mount Sinai Monastery
MS 1527. Microfilm, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

PRIMARY SOURCES:

Acta Conciliarum Oecumenicorum, 6 vols. Edited by E. Schwartz et al. Berlin; Leipzig, 1922-1992.

Acta Martyrum. Edited by Giusseppe Balestri and H. Hyvernal. 4 vols. Louvain: Secretariat du Corpus SCO, 1960-1961.

Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriacae. Edited by R. P. Bedjan. Leipzig; Paris: 1890-1897.

The Acts of the Christian Martyrs. Translated by Herbert Muscrillo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

The Acts of the Early Martyrs. Edited by J. Fastré. 5 vols. Philadelphia, PA: P. F. Cunningham, 1873.

Anchor Bible: Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah; the Additions. Translated by Carey A. Moore. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1977.

Anchor Bible: The Book of Daniel. Translated by Louis F. Hartman. New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1978.

Anonymous. *Anonymi Logica et Quadriuium, cum Scholiis Antiquis* (An Anonymous work on Logic and the Quadrivium, with Ancient Scholia), ed. J. L. Heiberg. Copenhagen: Host & Son, 1929.

Anonymous. *Spanos: eine byzantinischen Satire in der Form einer Parodie* ("Spanos:" A Byzantine Satire in the form of a Parody), Hans Eideneir, ed. New York: de Gruyter, 1977.

Anonymous. *Timarion*. Translated by Barry Baldwin. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984.

Anonymous. *Querolus (Aulularia) ou Le Grincheux (Comédie de la Petite Marmite)* (Querolus (*Aulularia*), or the Grump (The Comedy of the Little Cauldron). Translated by Catherine Jacquemard-Le Saos. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1994.

Anonymous. *Anonymous Questions and Answers on the Interval Signs*. Edited by Bjarne Schartau. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998.

Anonymous. *La vie d'Étienne le Jeune*. Translated by Marie-France Auzépy. 2 vols. Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1997.

Aristeas. *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas).* Translated and Edited by Moses Hadas. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Aristophanes. *The Wasps, the Poet and the Women, The Frogs*. Translated by David Barrett. New York: Penguin Books, 1964.

Aristotle. *The Basic Works of Aristotle*. Edited by Richard McKeon. New York: Random House, 1941.

________. *Poetics*. Translated by Gerald F. Else. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1967.

________. *Aristote: Problèmes*. Translated by Pierre Louis. 3 vols. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991-1994.

________. *Poetics*. Translated by Stephen Halliwell. Loeb Classical Library 199, 28-141. 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995.

Aristides Quintilianus. *On Music*. Translated by Thomas J. Mathiesen. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983.

Aristoxenus. *On Harmony*. In *Greek Musical Writings*, ed. Andrew Barker, 2: 119-184. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Athanasius. *Discours contre les Ariens de Saint Athanase*. Translated by A. Vaillant. Sofia, 1954.

[Augustan History]. *Lives of the Later Caesars*. Translated by Anthony Birley. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1976.

Augustine. "On Baptism, Against the Donatists." Translated by J. R. King. In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, vol. 4, *St. Augustin: The Writings Against the Manichaens, and Against the Donatists*, ed. Philip Schaff, 411-514. New York: Christian Literature Publishing Company 1887; reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1994.

________. "Lectures or Tractates on the Gospel According to St. John." Translated by John Gibb and James Innes. In *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st series, vol. 7, *St. Augustin: Homilies on the Gospel of John, Homilies on the First Epistle of John, Soliloquies*, ed. Philip Schaff, 7-452. New York: The Christian Publishing Company 1887. Reprint: Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1995.

________. *The City of God Against the Pagans*. Translated by George E. McCracken. Vol. 1, *Books I - III*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.

________. *Saint Augustine: Commentary on the Lord's Sermon on the Mount with Seventeen Related Sermons*. Translated by Denis J. Kavanagh. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1951.

________. *Confessions*. Translated by Henry Chadwick. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.

Bolland, John and others, eds. *Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur vel a catholicis scriptoribus celebrantur* (Deeds of the Saints, as many as lived the world over, or are honored by Catholic scribes). 2nd ed. 68 vols. Reprint: Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1965.

Brecht, Bertolt. *Brecht on Theatre*. Translated by John Willett. New York: Hill and Wang, 1964.

Bryennius, Manuel. *The Harmonics of Manuel Bryennius*. Translated by G. H. Jonker. Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1970.

Byzantine Defenders of the Images: Eight Saint's Lives in English Translation. Alice

Mary Talbot, ed. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998.
Cabasilas, Nicholas. *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*. Translated by J. M. Hussey and P. A. McNulty. London: S.P.C.K., 1960.
Cedrenus, George. *Chronicle*. Edited by I. Bekker. Vols. 38-39. *orpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. Bonn, 1838-1839.
Choniates, Nicetas. *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniate*s. Translated by Harry Magoulias. Detroit, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1984.
Choricius of Gaza. *Choricii Gazeii Opera*. Edited by R. Foerster and E. Richtsteig. 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1929. Reprint, Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1972.
________. *Χορικίου Σοφιστοῦ Γάζης, Συνηγορία Μίμων* (A Defense of the Mimes by Choricius, Sophist of Gaza). Edited by I. E. Stephanes. Thessalonica: Parateretes, 1986.
Chronicon Paschale. *Chronicon Paschale 284-628 A. D*. Translated by Michael Whitby and Mary Whitby. Liverpool, UK: Liverpool University Press, 1989.
Chrysaphes, Manuel. *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios*. Translated by Dimitri E. Conomos. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985.
Chrysostom, John, St. *Oeuvres Complètes de S. Jean Chrysostome*. Translated by J. Bareille. 21 vols. Paris: Louis Vivès, 1864-1878.
________. *St. John Chrysostom: Baptismal Instructions*. Translated by Paul W. Harkins. Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1963.
________. *The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostomos.* 3rd ed. Brookline, MA: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1985.
Clavijo, Ruy Gonzalez de. *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*. Translated by Guy le Strange. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1928.
Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio, 2nd ed. Edited by G. Mansi. 53 vols. Paris and Leipzig: 1901-1927.
Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. *Le livre des Cérémonies*. Translated by Albert and Charles Vogt. 2 vols. Paris: Societé d' édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1935.
________. *De Administrando Imperio*. Translated by R. J. H. Jenkins. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967.
Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. *Saint Cyprian: Treatises*. Translated by Roy J. Deferrari. New York: Fathers of the Church, 1958.
Digenes Akritis. Translated by Elizabeth Jeffreys. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
________. Translated by John Mavrgordato. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
Dio Chrysostom. *Dio Chrysostom*. Translated by. H. Lamar Crosby. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932-1951.
Dionysius the Areopagite (pseud.). *Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite: The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*. Translated by Thomas L. Campbell. New York: University Press of America, 1981.
________. *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*. Translated by Colm Luibheid. New York: Paulist Press, 1987.
Ecumenical Councils. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. Edited by Norman P. Tanner. 2 vols. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1990.

Egeria. *Egeria's Travels*. Translated by John Wilkinson. 3rd ed. Warminster, UK: Aris & Phillips, 1999.

Ethelwold. *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*. Translated by Dom Thomas Symons. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1953.

Eusebius. *Preparation for the Gospel*. Translated by Edwin Hamilton Gifford. Oxford: Clarendon House, 1903. Reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1981.

Eustathios, Archbishop of Thessalonica. *Eustathii Metropolitae Thessalonicensis Opuscula* (Eustathios, Metropolitan of Thessalonica's Minor Works). Edited by T. L. F. Tafel. Frankfurt am Mein, 1832.

Fletcher, Giles. *Of the Russe Common Wealth*. Edited by Richard Pipes and John V. A. Fine Jr. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Greek Anthology, The. *The Greek Anthology*. Translated by W. R. Paton. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969-1979.

________. *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*. Edited by A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page. 2 vols. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University PRess, 1965.

Greek Orthodox Holy Week & Easter Services. Translated by Father George L. Papadeas. South Daytona, FL: Patmos Press, 1999.

Gregory of Nazianzus. *Poemata Arcana*. Translated by Leofranc Holford-Strevens. Oxford: Oxford *University* Press, 1997.

________ (pseud.). *Le Passion du Christ, Tragédie*. Translated by André Tuilier. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1969.

Herodas. *The Mimes and Fragments*. Translated by Walter Headlam, Edited by A. D. Knox. Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1922.

Horace. "Epistles, Book II." In *The Complete Works of Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus)*, trans. Charles E. Passage, 339-382. New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1983.

Ignatius the Deacon. *The Correspondance of Ignatius the Deacon*. Translated by Cyril Mango. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997.

Ignatius of Smolensk. "The Journey of Ignatius of Smolensk." In George P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, 76-113. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984.

Jacob, Bishop of Serugh. C. Moss, "Jacob of Serugh's Homilies on the Spectacles and the Theater." Translated by C. Moss. *Le Muséon* 48 (1935): 87-112.

John Climacus. *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*, trans. Archimandrite Lazarus Moore (Willits, CA: Eastern Orthodox Books, 1973.

John of Damascus. *Three Treatises on the Divine Images*. Translated by Andrew Louth. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2003.

________. *On the Divine Images*. Translated by David Anderson. Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1980.

________. *Writings [The Fount of Knowledge]*. Translated by Frederic H. Chase, Jr. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1970.

John of Damascus (pseud.). *Die Erotapokriseis des Pseudo-Johannes Damaskenos Zum Kirchengesang* (The *Eratopokriseis* of Pseudo-John of Damascus on

Church Hymns), Christian Hannick and Gerda Wolfram, eds. Vienna: Osterreichschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.

John of Ephesus. *John of Ephesus: Lives of the Eastern Saints* (1). Translated by E. W. Brooks. *Patrologia Orientalis* 19 (1926).

John, Bishop of Nikiu. *Chronicle of John Bishop of Nikiu*. Translated by R. H .Charles. London: Williams and Norgate, 1916.

Josephus, Flavius. *The Life and Works of Flavius Josephus*. Translated byWilliam Whiston. Philadelphia, PA: J. C. Winston, 1957.

Julian, Emperor. *The Works of Emperor Julian*. Translated by Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949-1953.

Justin Martyr. "First Apology." In *The Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325*, vol. 1, *The Apostolic Fathers – Justin Martyr – Irenæus*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 163-187. Edinburgh: T. and T. Scott, 1867. Reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1973.

Justinian I. *Novellae*. Edited by R. Schöll and G. Kroll. Berlin, 1928.

________. *Codex Justinianus*. Edited by P. Krüger. Berlin, 1929.

________. *The Civil Law*. Translated by S. P. Scott. 17 vols. Cincinnati: The Central Trust Company, 1932.

________. *The Digest of Justinian*. Translated by Alan Watson. 4 vols. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

________. *Justinian's Institutes*. Translated by Peter Birks and Grant McCord. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.

La Broquere, Bertrandon de. "Voyage d'Outremer et Retour de Jérusalem en France par la voie de terre, pendant le cours des années 1432 et 1433," Legrand d'Aussy, ed. In *Mémoires de l'institut national des sciences et arts: Sciences morales et politiques*. Paris: (1804).

________. *Le Voyage d'Outremer* (The Journey Overseas), ed. C. Schefer. Paris: Leroux, 1897. Reprint, Westmead UK: Gregg International Publishers Ltd., 1971.

________. *The "Voyage d'Outremer" by Bertrandon de la Broquiere*. Translated by Galen R. Kline. New York: Peter Lang, 1988.

Leo III. *Ecloga*. Translated by E. H. Freshfield. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1927.

Leo VI. *Novellae*. Translated and edited by P. Noailles and A. Dain. Paris, 1944.

Le Stoglav, ou Les Cent Chapitres (The *Stoglav*, or The Hundred Chapters). Translated by E. Duchesne. Paris: Edouard Champion, 1920.

Libanius. *Autobiography and Selected Letters*. Translated by A. F. Norman. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

________. *Libanii Opera*. Edited by Richard Förster. 12 vols. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1963.

Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona. *The Works of Liutprand of Cremona*. Translated by F. A. Wright. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1930.

________. *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona*. Edited by Joseph Becker. Leipzig, 1915.

Lucian. "Of Pantomime." In *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, trans. H. W. Fowler

and F. G. Fowler, 238-262. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.
Lydus, John. *Ioannes Lydus on Powers: or the Magistracies of the Roman State*. Translated and edited by Anastasius C. Bandy. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1983.
Malalas, John. *The Chronicle of John Malalas*. Translated by Elizabeth Jeffreys, Michael Jeffreys and Roget Scott. Melbourne: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1986.
Malevich, Gavril. "The Famous Petition of Gavril Malevich from the City of Korsk." In *Russkie Skomorokhi.* A.A. Belkin, 173-5. Moscow, 1975.
Manuel II. Palaeologos, Emperor. *Dialoge mit einem "Perser"*. Translated by E. Trapp. Vienna: G. Bühlaus, 1966.
Materiali dli istorii, arkeologii I statistiki goroda mosvki. Moscow, 1884.
Menander. *The Plays and Fragments*. Translated by Maurice Balme. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
Mesarites, Nicholas. "Nicholas Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople." Translated by G. Downey. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 47.6 (1957): 855-918.
Michael the Italian. *Michel Italikos; Lettres et Discours*. Translated by Paul Gautier. Paris: Institute Français d'Études Byzantines, 1972.
Migne, J.-P., ed. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, (A Complete Series of Patristic Writings, Greek Series). 161 vols. Paris: 1844-1912. Reprint, Brepols: Turnholt, 1979.
Nestor. *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian text*. Translated and Edited by Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor. Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953.
Obozrienie Otdieleniia Khristianskikh Drevnostei v Muzeie Imperatora Aleksandra III. St. Petersburg, 1898.
Olearius, Adam. *The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth-Century Russia*. Translated and edited by Samuel H. Baron. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1967.
Pachymeres, George. *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymere*, ed. Paul Tannery. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1940.
Palaeologos, Manuel II, Emperor. *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*. Translated by George T. Dennis. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1977.
Palamas, Gregory. *Défense des saints Hésychastes* (A Defense of the Holy Hesychasts), ed. and trans. Jean Meyendorff. 2 vols. Louvain: Université Catholique, 1959.
________. *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*. Translated by Robert E. Sinkewicz. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1988.
Pausanias. *Description of Greece*. Translated by W. H. S. Jones. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978-1988.
Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople. *Photius, the Bibliotheca*. Edited by N. G. Wilson. London, 1994.
________. *Photii Patriarchae Lexicon*. Edited by Christos Theodoridis. New York: de Gruyter, 1982.
________. *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople*. Translated by

Cyril Mango. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958.
________. *The Library of Photius*. Translated by J. A. Freese. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920.
Plato. *The Republic*. Translated by Allan Bloom. New York: Basic Books, 1968.
________. *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*. Edited by Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1963.
Plutarch. *Oeuvres Morales*, vol. 9.2, *Propos de Table* (Plutarch, Moral Works: Table-Talk). Translated by Francois Fuhrmann. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1978.
Porphyrius, the Mime. "Une Passion Inédite de S. Porphyre le Mime," ed. R. P. Van de Vorst. *Analecta Bollandiana* 29 (1910): 258-275.
Procopius of Caesarea. *Procopius of Caesarea.* Translated by H. B. Dewing and G. Downey. 7 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914-1940.
________. *Procopius: The Secret History*. Translated by G. A. Williamson. New York: Penguin, 1966.
Psellos, Michael. *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers: The* Chronographia *of Michael Psellus*. Translated by E. R. A. Seuter. New York: Penguin Books, 1966.
________. *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius*. Edited by Andrew R. Dyck. Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademi der Wissenschaften, 1986.
________. *Le opere dei demonii*. Translated by Pietro Pizzari. Palermo: Sellerio, 1989.
________. *Michaelis Pselli: Orationes Hagiographicae*. Edited by Elizabeth A. Fisher. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1994.
________. *Orationes forenses et acten*. Edited by George T. Dennis. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1994.
Psellos, Michael (pseudo.). *La tragedia greca*. Translated by Franca Perusino. Urbino: Quattroventi, 1993.
Quintilian. *Quintilian. The Orator's Education*. Translated by Donald A. Russell. 5 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001.
Romanos. *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica*. Edited by Paul Maas and C. A. Trypanis. New York: Oxford University Press, 1963.
________. *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist*. Translated by Marjorie Carpenter. 2 vols. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1970-1973.
________. *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes*. Edited and translated by José Grosdidiers de Matons. 5 vols. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1964-1981.
________. *Sacred Song from the Byzantine Pulpit: Romanos the Melodist*. Translated by R. J. Schork. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995.
Rufinus of Aquileia. *The Church History of Rufinus of Aquileia*. Translated by Philip R. Amidon. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio. Edited by Giovan Domenico Mansi. 54 vols. Paris: H. Welter, 1901-1927.
Schaff, Philip and Henry Wace, eds. *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd ser. 14 vols. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890-1900.
Scholia Byzantina in Sophoclis Oedipum Tyrannum (Byzantine Commentaries on

Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannos*). Edited by Oddone Longo. Padua: Antenore, 1971.
Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church, The. Edited by Henry R. Percival. Vol. 14, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* translated and edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. New York: Scribners, 1900.
Severus, Bishop of Antioch. *Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche*, vol. 1, *Homélies LII a LVII*. Translated by Rubens Duval. *Patrologia Orientalis* 4.1 (1908).
Sherk, Robert K, ed. and trans. *The Roman Empire: Augustus to Hadrian*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Synesius the Cyrene. *Opere di Sinesio di Cirene: Epistoli Operette, Inni* (Works of Synesius of Cyrene: Epistolary Works, Hymns). Edited by Antonio Garzya. Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1989.
Skylitzes, John. *Jean Skylitzes: Empereurs de Constantinople* (John Skylitzes: Emperors of Constantinople). Translated by Bernard Flusin. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 2003.
Socrates Scholasticus. *Church History.* Translated by A. C. Zenos. In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* 2nd Series, vol. 2, *Socrates, Sozomenus: Church Histories*, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., 1-178. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890. Reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1952.
Sophocles. *Sophoclis Tragoediae*. Edited by R. D. Dawe. 2 vols. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984-1985.
Sozomen. *Church History*. Translated by Chester D. Hartranft. In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers,* 2nd Series, vol. 2, *Socrates, Sozomenus: Church Histories*, Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, eds., 179-427. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890. Reprint, Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1952.
Stoglav. *Stoglav.* Edited by D. E. Kozanchikova. Dusseldorf: Bruchken-Verlag, 1969.
Suda. Suidae Lexicon. Edited by A. Adler. 5 vols. Leipzig: 1928-1938.
Suda On Line: Byzantine Lexicography. Edited by David Whitehead et al. Database on-line. Available through http://www.stoa.org/sol/.
Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica. "Διάλογος ἐν Χριστῶ κατὰ πασῶν τῶν ἁιρέσεων καὶ περί τῆς μόνης πίστεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῶν ἱερῶν τελετῶν τε καὶ μυστηρίον πάντων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας (Dialogue in Christ Against All Heresies, and on the sole faith of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, on sacred rites and all the mysteries of the Church)." In *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, (The Complete Sequence of Patristic Writings, Greek Series), ed. J.-P. Migne, Vol. 155, 33-174. Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1869. Reprint, Turnhout BG: Brepols, 1979.
________. *Συμεών Ἀρχιεπισκοποῦ Θεσσαλονίκης· τα Λειτουργικά Συγγράμματα,* vol. 1, *Εὐχαι καὶ Ὕμνοι* (The Liturgical Treatises of

Symeon Archbishop of Thessaloniki: Prayers and Hymns), ed. Ioannes M. Phountoules. Thessalonica: Center for Macedonian Studies, 1968.
________. *Politico-Historical Works of Symeon Archbishop of Thessalonica (1416/17 to 1429)*, ed. David Balfour. Vienna: Osterreichsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1979.
________. *Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church*. Translated by H. L. M. Simmons. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984.
Symmachus. "Letter of St. Ambrose." Translated by H. de Romestin. In Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd ser., vol. 10, *Ambrose: Select works and letters*, 414-417. New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1890-1900. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
Synesius, Bishop of Cyrene. *Synésius de Cyrène: Hymnes*. Edited by Christian Lacombrade. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2003.
Tertullian. "Spectacles." In *Tertullian: Disciplinary, Moral and Ascetical Works*. Translated by Rudolph Arbesmann et al., 33-110. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1959.
The Edificatory Prose of Kievan Rus'. Translated by William R. Veder. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.
Themistius. *The Private Orations of Themistius*. Translated by Robert J. Penella. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.
Theodore of Sykeon. The Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon. In *Three Byzantine Saints*, trans. Elizabeth Dawes and Norman H. Baynes, 88-194. Crestwood, NJ: St. Vladimir's Press, 1977.
Theodosius I, Emperor. *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*. Translated by C. Pharr. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1952.
________. *Theodisiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmonidianis* (The 16 Theodosian Books with the Sirmondian Constitutions), ed. Theodore Mommsen and Paul M. Meyer. 2 vols. 3rd edition. Berlin: Wiedmann, 1905.
Theophanes Confessor. *The Chronicle of Theophanes*. Translated by Harry Turtledove. Philadelphia, PA: University of Philadelpia Press, 1982.
________. *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*. Translated by Cyril Mango and Roger Scott. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Theophylact Simocatta. *The History*. Translated by Michael and Mary Whitby. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.
Timarion. Translated by Barry Baldwin. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1984.
Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich. "Letter to Belgorod with the Text of the 'First' Tsar's Decree." In *Russkie Skomorokhi*, A.A. Belkin, 175-8. Moscow, 1975.
Vitruvius. *On Architecture*. Translated by Frank Granger. 2 vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
William, Archbishop of Tyre. *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*. Translated by Emily Atwater Babcock and A. C. Krey. 2 vols. New York: Collumbia University Press, 1943.

________. *Willelmi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon*. Edited by R. B. C. Huygens. 2 vols. Turnholt: Brepols, 1986.
Zonaras, John. *History*. Edited by T. Buttner-Wobst. 3 vols. Bonn, 1897.
Zosimus. *A New History*. Translated by R. T. Ridley. Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1982.

SECONDARY SOURCES:

Abel, F.-M. "Gaza au VIe Siècle d'aprés le Rhéteur Chorikios (Gaza in the 6th century according to the Rhetor Choricius)." *Revue Biblique* 40 (1931): 5-31.
Adamis, Michael. "Office of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace." Score. 1978. Private collection of Mr. Adamis.
Adams, Doug, and Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, eds. *Dance as Religious Studies*. New York: Crossroad, 1990.
Adkins, Lesley and Roy A. Adkins. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
Agapitos, P. "Narrative, Rhetoric and "drama" rediscovered: Scholars and Poets in Byzantium Interpret Heliodorus." In *Studies in Heliodorus*, ed. R. Hunter, 125-156. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Philological Society, 1998.
Aldrete, Gregory S. *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
Alexander, Alex E., ed. *Russian Folklore: An Anthology in English Translation.* Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company,1975.
Amico, Silvio d'. *Origini del teatro in Italia*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. Turin: E. Loescher, 1891.
________. *Storia del Teatro drammatico,* 4th ed. 4 vols. Milan: Garzanti, 1958.
Anderson, Graham. "Lucian and the Authorship of De Saltatione." *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15 (1974): 275-286.
Anderson, James C., Jr. *Roman Architecture and Society*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.
Anichkov, E. *Iazychestvo i drevniaia Rus'*. St. Petersburg, 1914.
Appel, Wila, and Richard Schechner, eds. *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
Arnott, Peter. *The Ancient Greek and Roman Theatre*. New York: Random House, 1971.
Arranz, Miguel. "Les Prières Presbytérales des Matines Byzantines (Prayers of the Clergy from Byzantine Matins)." *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 37 (1971): 406-436.
Athanassiadi, Polymnia and Michael Frede, eds. *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
Atrium Musicae de Madrid, Gregorio Paniagua dir. *Musique de la Grèce Antique*. Harmonia Mundi HMA 1951015. Compact Disc.
Aubreton, R. *Démétrius Triclinius et les Recensions Médiévales de Sophocle*. Paris: Societé d' édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1949.
Aussy, Legrand d', ed. "Voyage d'Outremer et Retour de Jérusalem en France par la voie de terre, pendant le cours des années 1432 et 1433 (Journey Overseas and

Return from Jerusalem, to France by land, during the years 1432-1433)." *Mémoires de l'institut national des sciences et arts: Sciences morales et politiques*. Paris, [1804].

Auzépy, Marie-France. *L'Hagiographie et l'iconocasme Byzantin: Le Cas de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999.

Babić, Gordana. *Les Chappelles Annexes des Églises Byzantines* (The Annex Chapels in Byzantine Churches). Paris: Klincksieck, 1969.

Bachmann, Horst and Wolfgang A. Slaby, eds. *Concordance to the Novum Testamentum Graece*. 3rd ed. New York: De Gruyter, 1987.

Bagdanos, Theodore. "Liturgical Drama in Byzantine Literature." *Comparative Drama* 10 (1976): 200-215.

Bakhtin, Mikhail M. *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*. Translated by Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

________. *Speech Genres & Other Late Essays*. Translated by Vern W. McGee. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1986.

Bakst, James. *A History of Russian-Soviet Music*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Baldovin, John F. *The Urban Character of Christian Worship: The Origins, Development, and Meaning of Stational Liturgy*. Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1987.

Baldwin, Barry. "A note on the Religious Sympathies of Circus Factions." *Byzantion* 48 (1978): 275-276.

________. "The Date of a Circus Dialogue." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 39 (1981): 301-306.

________. "A Talent to Abuse: Some Aspects of Byzantine Satire." *Byzantinische Forschungen* 8 (1982): 19-28.

________. *Studies on Late Roman and Byzantine History, Literature and Language*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1984.

________, ed. *An Anthology of Byzantine Poetry*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 1985.

Balfour, David. "Saint Symeon of Thessalonike as a Historical Personality," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28:1 (1983): 55-72.

Balsdon, J. P. D.V. *Life and Leisure at Rome*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969.

Bar, Doron. "Frontier and Periphery in Late Antique Palestine." *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 44 (2004): 69-92.

Barker, Andrew. *Greek Musical Writings*. 2 vols. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Barton, I. M. *Roman Public Buildings*. Exeter, UK: University of Exeter, 1989.

Barnes, T. D. "Christians and the Theater." In *Roman Theater and Society: E Togo Salmon Papers I*, ed. William J. Slater, 161-180. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993.

Bartsch, Shadi. *Actors in the Audience: Theatricality and Doublespeak from Nero to Hadrian*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994.

Baud-Bovy, S. "Sur un "Sacrifice d'Abraham" de Romanos et Sur L'Existence d'un Théâtre Religieux à Byzance (On an "Abraham's Sacrifice," Romanos and the Existence of a religious theatre in Byzantium)." *Byzantion* 13 (1938): 321-334.

________. "Le théâtre religeux, Byzance et l'occident." *Hellenika* 28 (1975): 328-349.
Bauer, Walter. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Translated by William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.
Baumstark, A. *Comparative Liturgy*. Translated by F. L. Cross. Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1958.
Beacham, Richard C. *The Roman Theatre and its Audience*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991.
________. *Spectacle Entertainments of Early Imperial Rome*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.
Beare, William. *The Roman Stage*. 3rd ed. London: Methuen, 1964.
Beck, Hans-George. *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur*. Munich, 1971.
Belkin, A.A. *Russkie Skomorokhi*. Moscow, 1975.
Bell, Catherine. *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
________. *Ritual Perspectives and Dimensions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
Berger, Albrecht. "Imperial and Ecclesiastical Processions in Constantinople." In *Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*, ed. Nevra Necipoğlu, 73-87. Boston, MA: Brill, 2001.
Bergeron, Katherine. and Philip V. Bohlman, eds. *Disciplining Music: Musicology and its Canons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
________. *Decadent Enchantments: the Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
Bergmann, Bettina and Christine Kondoleon, eds. *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
Bernardi Ferrero, Daria de. *Teatri classici in Asia Minore*. 4 vols. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1966-1974.
Berthold, Margot. *The History of World Theatre: From the Beginnings to the Baroque*. Translated by Edith Simmons. New York: Continuum, 1972.
Besancon, Alain. *The Forbidden Image: An Intellectual History of Iconoclasm*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
Bieber, Margarete. *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 3rd ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.
Bires, Costas E. *Ἀι Ἐκκλησίαι τῶν Παλαιῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (The Churches of Ancient Athens). Athens: "Ἑστιας," 1940.
Boardman, John. *The Greeks Overseas: The Early Colonies and Trade*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1999.
Boissac, Paul. *Circus and Culture: A Semiotic Approach*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976.
Bornert, René. *Les Commentaires Byzantins de la Divine Liturgie du VIIe au XVe Siècle* (Byzantine Commentaries on the Divine Liturgy from the 7th to the 15th Century). Paris: Institute Français d'Études Byzantines, 1966.
Bouras, Laskarina. "Byzantine Lighting Devices." *Jahrbuch der Österreichsischen Byzantinistik* 32/3 (1982): 479-491.

Bouvy, E. *Poètes et Mélodes; Étude sur les origines du rhythme tonique et l'hymnographie de l'église grecque*. Nimes, 1886.
Bowersock, G. W. *Julian the Apostate*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
________, Peter Brown and Oleg Grabar, eds. *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999.
________. *Julian the Apostate*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
Bradshaw, Paul F. *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
Brehier, Louis. "Le Theatre Religieux a Byzance." *Journal des Savants* 11 (1913): 357-361 & 395-404.
________. "Les Miniatures des 'Homilies' du Moine Jacques et le Theatre Religieux a Byzance.' *Monuments et Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 24 (1921): 101-128.
________. "Le Theatre a Byzance." *Journal des Savants* XXX (1932): 249-261.
________. *La civilisation byzantine*. Paris, 1950.
________. *The Life and Death of Byzantium*. Translated by Margaret Vaughan. New York: Elsevier North-Holland, 1977.
Brock, Sebastian P. and Susan Harvey, eds. *Holy Woman of the Syrian Orient*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987.
________. "The Dispute between the Cherub and the Theif." *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 5, no. 2 (July 2002): 1-20. http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/Vol5No2/HV5N2Brock.html.
Brockett, Oscar G. and Franklin J. Hildy. *History of the Theatre*, 9th ed. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 2003.
Brown, Peter. *The Making of Late Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978.
________. *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
________. *The World of Late Antiquity AD 150-750*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1989.
Browning, Robert. "The Riot of A.D. 387 in Antioch: the Role of the Theatrical Claques in the later Roman Empire." *Journal of Roman Studies* 17 (1952): 13-20.
________. "A Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy." In *ΓΕΡΑΣ: Studies Presented to George Thomson on the occasion of his 60th birthday*, ed. L. Varcle and R. F. Willetts, 67-82. Prague: Charles University, 1963.
________. "Ignace le Diacre et la Tragédie Classique à Byzance (Ignatius the Deacon and Classical Tragedy in Byzantium)." *Revue des Études Grecques* 81 (1968): 401-410.
________. *Medieval and Modern Greek*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1969.
________. *Justinian and Theodora*. New York: Praeger, 1971.
________. *The Emperor Julian*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.
________. *Studies in Byzantine History, Literature and Education*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1977.
________. "Literacy in the Byzantine World." *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*

4 (1978): 39-54.
________. "A Byzantine Scholar of the Early Fourteenth Century: Georgios Karbones." In *Gonimos: Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies presented to Leendert G. Westerlink at 75*, ed. John Duffy and John Peradotto, 223-231. Buffalo, NY: Arethusa, 1988.
________. *History, Language and Literacy in the Byzantine World*. Northampton, UK: Variorum Reprints, 1989.
________. *The Byzantine Empire*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992.
Bucknell, Peter A. *Entertainment and Ritual: 600 to 1600*. London: Stainer and Bell, 1979.
Burford, E. J. *The Bishop's Brothels*. London: Robert Hale, 1993.
Burton, Joan. *Theocritus's Urban Mimes: Mobility, Gender, and Patronage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
Cameron, Alan. *Porphyrius the Charioteer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.
________. *Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
________. "The Construction of Court Ritual: The Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*." In *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, D. Cannadine and S. Price, eds., 106-36. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
Cameron, Averil. *Procopius and the Sixth Century*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
________. *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire: The Development of Christian Discourse*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.
Cargill, Oscar. *Drama and Liturgy*. New York: Octagon Books, 1969.
Carlson, Marvin. *Theories of the Theatre: A Historical and Critical Survey, from the Greeks to the Present*, 2nd. ed. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993.
Carpenter, Marjorie. "Romanos and the Mystery Plays of the East." *The University of Missouri Studies* 11 (July 1, 1936): 21-51.
Cavallo, Guglielmo, ed. *The Byzantines*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
Cavarnos, Constantine. *Byzantine Sacred Music*. Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1956.
________. *Cultural and Educational Continuity of Greece: from Antiquity to the Present*. Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,1995.
________. *Byzantine Chant: A Sequel to the Monograph Byzantine Sacred Music, Containing a Concise Discussion of the Origin of Byzantine Chant, its Modes, Tempo, Notation, Prologoi, Prosomoia, Style, and Other Features*. Belmont, MA: Institute for Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, 1998.
Chambers, E. K. *The Medieval Stage*. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1903.
Chatizidakis, Manolis. "L'Évolution de l'icone aux 11e – 13e siècles et la transformation du Templon (The Evolution of the Icon in the 11th – 13th Centuries and the Transformation of the *Templon*)." In *XVe Congrès*

International d'Études Byzantines, vol. 3, *Art et Archaéologie*, ed. Maria A. Gavrilis, 159-189. Athens, 1976.
Chrysos, Evangelos. "The Empire in East and West." In *The Transformation of the Roman World AD 400-900*, Leslie Webster and Michelle Brown, eds., 9-18. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
Ciggaar, K. N. "Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XIIe Siècle (An anonymous description of Constantinople from the 12th Century)." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 31 (1973): 335-354.
Clugnet, M. L. "Les Offices et les Dignités Ecclésiastiques dans l'Église Grecque (Offices and Church Honors in the Greek Church)." *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* 4 (1899).
Collins, John J. *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. New York: Crossroad, 1983.
Colosimo, Jean-Francois. *Le Silence des Anges*. Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 2001.
Comotti, Giovanni. *Music in Greek and Roman Culture*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.
Connolly, Francis X., Martin D'Arcy, and Barry Ulanov. *Literature as Christian Comedy; The McAualey Lectures 1961*. West Hardford, CT: St. Joseph College, 1962.
Conomos, Dimitri. *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries: A Study of Late Byzantine Liturgical Chant*. Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1974.
________. *Byzantine Hymnography and Byzantine Chant*. Brookline, MA: Hellenic College Press, 1984.
________. *The Late Byzantine and Slavonic Communion Cycle: Liturgy and Music*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1985.
Constantinides, C. N. *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries (1204-ca. 1310).* Nicosia, 1982.
Cormack, Robin. "The wall-painting of St. Michael in the theatre." In *Aphrodisias Papers 2*, R. R. R. Smith and K. T. Erim, eds., 109-122. Ann Arbor, MI; University of Michigan Press, 1991.
Cornford, Francis Macdonald. *The Origin of Attic Comedy*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1993.
Corrigan, Robert W., ed. *Classical Comedy Greek and Roman*. New York: Applause Theatre Book Publishers, Inc., 1987.
Cottas, Venetia. *Le Théâtre à Byzance* (Theatre in Byzantium). Paris: Paul Guenther, 1931.
________. *L'influence du drame* Christos Paschon *sur l'art chrétien d'Orient.* Paris: Paul Guenther, 1931.
________. "Contribution a l'etude de quelques tissus liturgiques." *Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 6 (1940): 87-102.
Csapo, Eric and William J. Slater, eds. *The Context of Ancient Drama*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1995.
Cunningham, Mary. "Dramatic Device or didactic tool? The function of dialogue in Byzantine preaching." In *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth*

Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, 101-113. London: Ashgate, 2003.

Czekanowska, Anna, Miloš Velimirović, and Zbigniew Skorwon, eds. *From Idea to Sound: Proceedings of the International musicological Sympsium held at Castle Nieborow in Poland, September 4-5, 1985*. Krakow; Wydano Nakladem Fundacji Zjednoczonej Europy, 1993.

Dagron, Gilbert. "Holy Images and Likeness." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 23-33.

Darrouzés, J. "Autres manuscrits originaires de Chypre." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 15 (1957): 131-168.

________. *Recherches sur les Ὀφφίκια de l'Église Byzantine* (Research on the "offices" of the Byzantine Church). Paris: Institute Français d'Études Byzantines, 1970.

________. "Sainte-Sophie de Thessalonique d'après un Rituel (St. Sophia of Thessalonica According to a Ritual)." *Revue des Études Byzantines* 34 (1976): 45-78.

Davidson, Clifford and John H. Stroupe, eds. *Drama in the Middle Ages*. New York: AMS Press, 1991.

Day, Juliette. *Baptism in Early Byzantine Palestine, 325-451*. Cambridge, UK: Grove Books, 1999.

Demus, Otto. *The Church of San Marco in Venice: History, Architecture, Sculpture*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1966.

________. *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium*. New Rochelle, NY: Caratzos Brothers, 1976.

Dezeimeris, Reinhold. *Études sur le Querolus* (Studies on the Querlous). Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1881.

Diehl, Charles. *Justinian et la Civilisation Byzantine au VIe siècle*. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1901.

________. *Manuel d'Art Byzantine*, 2nd ed. 2 vols. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1925-1926.

Dmitrievskiĭ, A. "Chin peshchnago dieistva (The Fiery Furnace Play)." *Vizantiĭskiĭ Vremennik* 1 (1894): 553-600.

Doda, Alberto, ed. *Studi di Musica Bizantina; In Onore di Giovanni Marzi*. Lucca, IT: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 1995.

Dolan, T. P. "The Mass as Performance Text." In *From Page to Performance,* ed. John A. Alford, 13-24. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 1995.

Douhet, Jules M. Le Compte de. *Dictionnaire des mystères, moralités, rites figurés et cérémonies singulières* (Dictionary of Mystery Plays, Morality Plays, Representational Rites and Unique Ceremonies). Paris, 1854. Reprint, Turnhout: Brepols, 1989.

Downey, Glanville. Glanville Downey. "The Christian Schools of Palestine: A Chapter in Literary History." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 12 (1958): 297-319.

________. *Constantinople in the Age of Justinian*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960.

________. *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.
________. *Antioch in the Age of Theodosius the Great*. Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1962.
________. *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century*. Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1963.
Duckworth, George E. *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment*, 2nd ed. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994.
Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400-1580*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.
Dufrenne, Suzy. *Les Programmes Iconographiques des Eglises Byantines de Mistra* (Iconographic Programs of the Byzantine churches in Mistras). Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1970.
Dunn, E. Catherine. *The Gallican Saint's Life and the Late Roman Dramatic Tradition*. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1989.
Dupont, Florence. *The Invention of Literature: From Greek Intoxication to the Latin Book*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
Duval, R. *Littérature Syriaque*. Paris, 1900.
Easterling, P. E., ed. *Greek Religion and Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
________ and Edith Hall, eds. *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
Edbury, Peter W. and John Gordon Rowe. *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
Edwards, Catherine. "Unspeakable Professions: Public Performance and Prostitution in the Roman Empire." In *Roman Sexualities*, Judith P. Hallett and Marilyn B. Skinner eds., 66-95. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.
Eideneier, H. *Spanos: Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie*. Berlin/New York, 1977.
Eisenstein, Sergei M. *Ivan the Terrible, Parts I and II.* Produced and Directed by Sergei M. Eisenstein. 235 minutes. Video Classics (1944, 1947). Videocassette.
________. *Ivan the Terrible*. Translated by Ivor Montagu and Herbert Marshall. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962.
Else, Gerald. ""Imitation" in the Fifth Century." *Classical Philology* 53.2 (1958), 73-90.
________. *The Origin and Early Form of Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
Enders, Jody. *Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.
Epstein, A. W. "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?" *Journal of the British Archeological Association* 134 (1981): 1-28.
Erbe, Berit. *En Undersøgelse af Byzantinsk Teater*. Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, 1973.

Eustratiades, Sophronios, ed. *Heirmologion*. Chennevières-sur-Marne, FR: L'Ermitage, 1932.
Evans, J. A. S. The *Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
Famitsyn, A.S. *Skomorokhi na rusi* (Russian Skomorokhi). Saint-Petersburg, 1889. Reprint, St. Petersburg: "Aleteiia," 1995.
Fedotov, G. P. *The Russian Religious Mind*. Vol. 1*, Kievan Christianity: The Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries*. New York: Harper and Row, 1960.
Fisher, Elizabeth A. "Theodora and Antonia in the *Historia Arcana*: History and/or fiction?" *Arethusa* 11(1978): 253-279.
Florovsky, Georges. *Ways of Russian Theology*. Translated by Robert L. Nichols. 2 vols. Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Co., 1979.
Follieri, Henrica. *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae* (Incipits of Hymns of the Greek Church), 6 vols. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1960-1965.
Forni, Viovanni. "Teatro: Eta classica." In *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, vol. 3, cols. 872-882. Rome: Casa Editrice Le Maschere, 1962.
________. "Circo." In *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* vol. 9, cols. 724-258. Rome: Casa Editrice Le Maschere, 1956.
Fortescue, Adrian. *Donatism*. London: Burns & Oates, 1917.
Franceschini, Eugenia Bolognesi Recchi. "The Iron Masks: The Persistence of Pagan Festivals in Christian Byzantium." *Byzaninische Forschungen* 21 (1995): 117-132.
Fraser, P. M. and E. Mathews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. 4 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988-2001.
French, Dorothea R. "Christian Emperors and Pagan Spectacles: The Secularization of the Ludi A.D. 382-525." Ph.D. diss, University of California, Berkeley, 1985.
_________. "Maintaining Boundaries: The Status of Actresses in Early Christian Society." *Vigilae Christianae* 52 (1998): 293-318.
Frend, W. H. C. *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952.
Frézouls, E. "Recherches sur les théâtres de l'Orient syriens." *Syria* 35/36 (1958/1959): 202-227; 37/38 (1960-1961): 54-86.
Fryde, Edmund. *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261-c. 1360).* Boston: Brill, 2000.
Garton, Charles. *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre*. Toronto: Hakkert, 1972.
Gassner, John. *Medieval and Tudor Drama*. New York: Applause Theatre Books, 1987.
Gastoué, A. "L'Importance Musicale, Liturgique et Philologique du Ms. Hagiopolites (The musical, liturgical and philological importance of the Hagiopolites Manuscript)." *Byzantion* 5 (1929): 347-355.
Geanakoplos, Deno John. *Constantinople and the West: Essays on the Late Byzantine (Palaeologan) and Italian Renaissances and the Byzantine and Roman Churches.* Madison, WI: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1989.
Geffcken, Johannes. *The Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism*. Translated by Sabine MacCormack. New York: North Holland Publishing Company, 1978.

Gerstel, Sharon E. J. *Beholding the Sacred Mysteries: Programs of the Byzantine Sanctuary*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.

Ghiron-Bistagne, Paulette. *Recherches sur les Acteurs dans la Grèce Antique* (Research on Actors in Ancient Greece). Paris: Société "Les Belles Lettres," 1976.

Gill, Joseph. *The Council of Florence*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1959.

Gilula, Dwora. "The Mask of the Pseudokore." *Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies* 15 (1974): 247-250.

Gleason, Maud. *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Glucker, Carol A. M. *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Oxford: B.A.R., 1987.

Golden, Leon. "Aristotle on Comedy." *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 42 (1984): 283-290.

________. *Aristotle on Tragic and Comic Mimesis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Goldhill, Simon D. "The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107 (1987): 58-76.

Gombosi, Otto. "Key, Mode, Species." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 4 (1951): 20-26.

Gombrich, Ernst. *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictoral Representation*, 2nd ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Graham-White, Anthony. "The Characteristics of Traditional Drama." *The Drama Review* 21 (1977): 11-24.

Grande, C. del. "Teatro bizantino." In *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo* vol. 2, cols. 556-559. Rome: Casa Editrice Le Maschere, 1954.

Graux, Charles. "Choricios, Apologie des mimes." *Revue de Philologie* 1 (1877): 209-247.

Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, The. Accessed October 28, 2004, http://www.goarch.org/en/news/NewsDetail.asp

Grosdidier de Matons, Jose. *Romanos le Melode et les origines de la poesie religieuse a Byzance*. Paris: Beachesne, 1977.

Grout, Donald Jay. *A History of Western Music*, 3rd ed. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1988.

Gruen, Erich S. *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Gruenwald, Ithamar. *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel*. Boston, MA: Brill, 2003.

Gunderson, Erik. *Staging Masculinity: The Rhetoric of Performance in the Roman World*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2000.

Haight, Anne Lyon, ed. *Hrosvitha of Gandersheim: Her Life, Times and Works, and a Comprehensive Bibliography*. New York: The Hrosvitha Club, 1965.

Halaris, Christodoulos. *Hellenic Elegies (Antiquity, Middle-Ages, post-Byzantine period)*. Produced and directed by Christodoulos Halaris. Orata Ltd. ORM 4012. Compact Disk.

________. *Music of Ancient Greece*. Produced and directed by Christodoulos Halaris. Orata Ltd. ORANGM 2013. Compact Disk.
Hall, Edith. "The Singing Actors of Antiquity." In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Pat Easterling and Edith Hall, eds., 3-38. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
Hanawalt, Barbara A. and Michal Kobialka, eds. *Medieval Practices of Space*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
Hannick, Christian. "Byzantinische Musik (Byzantine Music)." In *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (The Standard Secular Byzantine Literature), Herbert Hunger ed., 183-218. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1978.
Hanson, John Arthur. *Roman Theatre-Temples*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959.
Hapgood, Isabel Florence. *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church, Compiled, Translated and Arranged from the Old Church-Slavonic Service Books of the Russian Church and Collaged with the Service Books of the Greek Church*. 2nd ed. New York: Association Press, 1922.
Hardison, O. B. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages: Essays in the Origin and Early History of Modern Drama*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965. Reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press,1983.
Harris, John Wesley. *Medieval Theatre in Context: An Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 1992.
Haslam, Michael W. "Apollonius Rhodius and the Papyri." *Illinois Classical Studies* 3 (1978): 47-73.
Hillgarth, J. N., ed. *Christianity and Paganism, 350-750*, Revised edition. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986.
Høeg, Carsten. , "La Theorie de la Musique Byzantine (The Byzantine Theory of Music)." *Revue des Études Grecques* 35 (1922): 321-334.
________. *La Notation Ekphonique* (Ekphonic Notation). Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1935.
________. *The Hymns of the Hirmologion, Part I: The First Mode and the First Plagal Mode*. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1952.
________. "The Oldest Slavonic Tradition of Byzantine Music." *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1953); 37-65.
Horrocks, G. *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*. New York: Longman Linguistic Library, 1987.
Howard-Johnston, James, and Paul Antony Hayward, eds. *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
Hubbs, Joanna. *Mother Russia: The Feminine Myth in Russian Culture.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988.
Huber, Paul. *Athos: Leben, Glaube, Kunst* (Athos: Life, Faith, Art). Zurich: Atlantis, 1989.
Huizinga, Johan. *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955.
Hunger, Herbert. "On the Imitation of Antiquity (Mimesis) in Byzantine Literature."

Dumbarton Oaks Papers 23-24 (1969-1970): 15-38.
________. *Die hochsprachige profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (Standard Secular Byzantine Literature)." 2 vols. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1977-1978.
________. ""Aristophanes" in margine: Versus Exotici." In *AETOS: Studies in Honor of Cyril Mango Presented to him on April 14, 1998*, ed. I. Sevcenko and I. Hutter, 177-180. Stuttgart, Leipzig: Teubner, 1998.
Hussey, J. M. *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.
Institute for New Testament Textual Research. *Concordance to the Novum Testamentum Graece of Nestle-Aland*. 3rd ed. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1987.
Irigoin, Jean. "À propos de l'*Hélène* d'Euripide: Structure métrique et tradition du texte (Concerning Euripides' *Helen*: Metrical structure and textual tradition)." *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1977): 177-190.
________. *Tradition et Critique des Textes Grecs* (The Tradition and Criticism of Greek Texts). Paris; Belles Lettres, 1997.
Iser, Wolfgang. *The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction from Bunyan to Beckett*. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
Ivanov, Sergei A., "Slavic Jesters and the Byzantine Hippodrome." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985): 129-132.
Jacobsh, F. K. "The Saints of Leskov and Böll." *Germano-Slavica* 6 (1988): 91-102.
Jacoff, Michael. *The Horses of San Marco and the Quadriga of the Lord*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
Janell, W. *Lob des Schauspielers oder Mime und Mimus* (A Defense of the Player, or Actor and Mime). Berlin: Wir, 1922.
Janin, R. "Les Processions Religieuses a Byzance." *Revue des Etudes Byzantines* 24 (1936): 69-87.
________. *Constantinople byzantine*. Paris, 1964.
Jeffery, Peter. "Octōēchos." In *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy. http://www.grovemusic.com.
Jeffreys, Elizabeth, ed. *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*. London: Ashgate, 2003.
Jones, A. H. M. *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe*. Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press, 1978.
Jones, H. Stuart, ed. *Select Passages from Ancient Writers Illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture*. Chicago: Argonaut, 1966.
Jory, E. J. "Associations of Actors in Rome." *Hermes* 98 (1970): 224-253.
Jungmann, Joseph A. *Missarum Sollemnia: eine genetische Erkälarung der römischen Messe* (*Missarum Sollemnia*: A Geneology of the Roman Mass. 2 vols. Vienna: Herder, 1948.
________. *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its Origins and Development*. Translated by Francis A. Brunner. 2 vols. New York: Benziger Brothers Inc., 1955.

Kaldellis, Anthony. *Procopius of Caesaria: Tyranny, History, and Philosophy at the End of Antiquity*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Kandinsky, Wassily. *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. Translated by M. T. H. Sadler. New York: Dover, 1977.

Karamanolis, George E. "Choricius of Gaza." In *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, ed. Graham Speake, 1.324. 2 vols. Chicago, IL: Dearborn Publishers, 2000.

Karlinsky, Simon K. *Russian Drama: From its Beginnings to the Age of Puskin.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

Kastalskii, A. *Peshchnoe deistva*. Moscow, 1909. Musical score.

Kathimerini English Edition, 27 February 2004. http://www.ekathimerini.com/4dcgi/news/content.asp?aid=40052 (accessed April 10, 2006).

Kathimerini Greek Edition, 26 February 2004. http://www.ekathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_civ_1_26/02/2004_95040 (accessed April 10, 2006).

Kazhdan, Alexander. *La produzione intellectuale a Bisanzio: Libri e Scrittori in una Societá Colta*, ed. R. Maisano. Naples: Liguori Editore, 1983.

________ and Ann Wharton Epstein. *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

________, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

________, Lee Sherry, and Christine Angelidi. *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)*. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, Institute for Byzantine Research, 1999.

Kelly, Michael, ed. *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*. 4 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Kennedy, George A. *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983.

________. *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*. 2nd ed. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

________. *A New History of Classical Rhetoric*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994.

________, ed. *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.

Kennard, Joseph Spencer. *The Italian Theatre: From its Beginning to the Close of the Seventeenth Century*. New York: Benjamin Blom, Inc., 1964.

Kerman, Joseph. *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Kernodle, George R. *From Art to Theatre: Form and Convention in the Renaissance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944.

Kirsten, Curt. *Quaestiones Choricianae* (Chorician Studies). Breslau: William Koebner, 1894.

Klawitter, George. "Dramatic Elements in Early Monastic Induction Ceremonies." In *Drama in the Middle Ages*, Clifford Davidson and John H. Stroupe, eds., 43-60. New York: AMS Press, 1991.

Knibbe, Kieter. "*Via Sacra Ephesiaca*: New Aspects of the Cult of Artemis Ephesia." In *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*. Edited by Helmut Koester, 141-155. Valley Forge, PA: Harvard Theological Studies, 1995.

Kobialka, Michal. *This is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

________, ed. *Of Borders and Thresholds: Theatre History, Practice, and Theory*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999.

Koester, Helmut, ed. *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*. Valley Forge, PA: Harvard Theological Studies, 1995.

Kokolakis, Minos M. *Pantomimes and the Treatise "peri Orcheseos*." Athens: A Sideris, 1959.

Koshelev, Vladimir Vasil'evich*. Skomorokhi: Annotirovannyi bibliograficheskii ukazatel' 1790-1994*. St. Petersburg: "Liki Rosii," 1994.

________, ed. *Mezhdunarodnyi simpozium "Skomorokhi--problemy I perspektivy izucheniia*." St. Petersburg: Rossisskii institut istorii, 1994.

Koukoules, Phaidon. Βυζαντινῶν βίος καί πολιτισμός, 6 vols. Athens, 1948-1955.

Koutroubas, Dimitrios, ed. *Ἀρχαίοι ἁρμονικοί Συγγράφεις* (Ancient Harmonic Treatises). Athens: Georgiades, 1995.

Krautheimer, Richard. "The Constantinian Basilica." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1971): 117-140.

________. *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th ed. New York: Penguin Books, 1986.

Krivosheine, Fr. Basil. "The Ascetic and Theological Teaching of Gregory Palamas." *The Eastern Churches Quarterly* (1938). Reprint, London: Geo. E. J. Coldwell Ltd, 1954.

Krueger, Derek. *Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius's Life and the Late Antique City*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988.

________. "Hagiography as an ascetic practice in the Early Christian East." *Journal of Religion* 79 (1999): 216-232.

_________. *Writing and Holiness: The Practice of Authorship in the Early Christian East*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Kustas, George L. *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric*. Thessalonica: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies, 1973.

Kyriakis, M. J. "Satire and Slapstick in Seventh and Twelfth Century Byzantium." *Byzantina* 5 (1973): 289-306.

Lacy, Gregg F. "Augustianian Imagery and Fabliaux Obscenity." In *Studies on the Seven Sages of Rome and Other Essays in Medieval Literature*, ed. H. Niedzielski, H. R. Runte, and W. L. Hendrickson, 219-230. Honolulu: Educational Research Association, 1978.

Lage, Vertha von der. *Studien zur Genesiuslegend* (Studies in the legend of Genesius). Berlin, 1898.

Lampros, S. "Βυζαντιακή Σκηνοθετική Διάταξις τῶν Παθῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ (A Byzantine Theatrical Script of Christ's Passion)." *Νεος Ελληνομνημον* 13

(1916): 381-408.
La Piana, George. *Le Rappresentazioni Sacre nella Litteratura Bizantina dalle Origini al Secolo IX, con Rapporti al Teatro Sacro d'Occidente* (Sacred Plays in Byzantine Literature from its Origins to the 9th Century, in Relation to the Western Sacred Theatre). Grotteferrata: "St.Nilo," 1912.
________. "The Byzantine Theatre." *Speculum* 11 (1936), 171-211.
________. "Theology of History." In *The Interpretation of History, ed.* Joseph R. Strayer, ed., 149-186. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943.
________. "The Byzantine Iconography of the Presentation of the Virgin Mary to the Temple and a Latin Religious Pageant," In *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr*., ed. Kurt Weitzmann, 261-271. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1955.
Larson, Orville K. "Bishop Abraham of Souzdal's Description of 'Sacre Rappresentazioni.'" *Educational Theatre Journal* 9 (1957): 208-213.
Latte, Kurt. *De saltationibus graecorum armatis*. Regimonti: A. Toepelmann, 1913.
Lavan, Luke, ed. In *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001.
Lavriotes, A. E. ", "Ἀκολουθεία Ψαλλομένη τη Κυριακή τῶν Ἁγιῶν Πατερῶν πρό τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ Γεννεσέως, ἤτι τῆς καμίνου (Sung Office for the Sunday of the Holy Fathers before Christmas, i.e., [Office] of the Furnace)" Ἐκκλεσιαστική Ἀλήθεια 20 (1895-1896): 345-346.
Lawson, Anna, ed. *Russian Futurism through its Manifestoes, 1912 – 1928*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988.
Lees, Dorothy N. "The 'Sacre Rappresentazioni' of Florence." *The Mask* 4 (1912): 219-249.
Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. Translated by D. Nicholson-Smith. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
Lepelley, Claude. *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au bas empire*, 2 vols. Paris; Études augustiniennes, 1979.
________. "Trois documents méconnus sur l'histoire sociale et religieuse de l'Afrique romaine tardive parmi les *spuria* de Sulpice Sévère (Three little-known documents on the social and religious history of Late Roman Africa from the *Spuria* of Sulpicius Severus)." *Antiquités Africaines* 25 (1989): 258-261.
Levy, Kenneth. "Le "Tournant Décisif" dans l'Histoire de la Musique Byzantine 1071-1261 (The "Decisive Turning Point" in the History of Byzantine Music, 1071-1201)." In *XVe Congrès International d'Études Byzantines*, vol. 3, *Art et Archaéologie*, ed. Maria A. Gavrilis, 281-288. Athens, 1976.
Lewin, A. "Urban Public Building from Constantine to Julian: the Epigraphic Evidence." In *Recent Research in Late-Antique Urbanism*, ed. Luke Lavan, 27-37. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2001.
Leyerle, Blake. *Theatrical Shows and Ascetic Lives: John Chrysostomos' Attack on Spiritual Marriage*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
Liddell, Henry George and Robert Scott, eds. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed., revised by Sir Henry Stuart Jones. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Lieberman, Saul. *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine*. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1950.

Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972.

________. *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

________. "The End of the Ancient City." In *The City in Late Antiquity*, John Rich ed., 1-49. London: Routledge, 1992.

________. "Administration and Politics in the Cities of the 5th and 6th Centuries with Special Reference to the Circus Factions." In *La Fin de la Cité Antique et le Début de la Cité Médiévale, de la fin du IIIe Siècle à l'Avènement de Charlemagne* (The End of the Ancient City and the Beginning of the Medieval City, from the end of the 3rd Century to the Rise of Charlemagne), ed. Claude Lepelley, 161-182. Bari: Edipuglia, 1996.

________. "The Circus Factions." In *Convegno per Santo Mazzarino, Roma, 9-11 maggio 1991*, 163-185. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1998.

________. "Gaza." In *Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition*, vol. 1, *A-K*, ed. Graham Speake, 645-646. Chicago, IL: Dearborn Publishers, 2000.

Lim, Richard. "Consensus and Dissensus on Public Spectacles in Early Byzantium." In *Conformity and Non-Conformity in Byzantium: Papers Given at the Eighth Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, University of New England, Australia, July 1993*, ed. Lynda Garland, 159-179. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1997.

________. "Converting the Unchristianizable: The Baptism of Stage Performers in Late Antiquity." In *Conversion in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Seeing and Believing,* Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton, eds., 84-126. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2003.

Lindsay, Jack. *Byzantium into Europe*. London: The Bodley Head, 1952.

Lingas, Alexander. "The Liturgical Place and Origins of the Byzantine Liturgical Drama of the Three Children." In *Nineteenth Annual Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers* (4-7 November 1993, Princeton University), 81-82.

________. "Sunday Matins in the Byzantine Cathedral Rite: Music and Liturgy." Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1996.

________. "Ritual Extravagance and Musical Sobriety: The Decline of the Byzantine Cathedral Rite." *Bulletin of British Byzantine Studies* 24 (1996): 86-87.

Link, Josef. *Die Geschichte der Schauspieler: nach einem syrischen Manuscript der königlichen Bibliothek in Berlin*. Berlin, 1904.

Litsas, Fotios K. "Choricius of Gaza: an Approach to his Work." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1980.

________. "Choricius of Gaza and his Descriptions of Festivals at Gaza." *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32.3 (1982): 427-436.

Longosz, Stanley. "L'Antico mimo anticristiano (The ancient anti-Christian mime)." *Studia Patristica* 24 (1993): 164-168.

Longworth, Philip. *Alexis: Tsar of all the Russias.* London: Secker & Warburg,

1984.
Lotman, Iurii M and Uspenskii, Boris. "Binary Models in the Dynamics of Russian Culture (to the End of the Eighteenth Century)." In *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History,* ed. Alexander D. Nakhimovsky and Alice Stone Nakhimovsky, 30-67. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1985.
________. *Universe of the Mind: a Semiotic Theory of Culture*. Translated by Ann Shukman. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990.
Maas, Martha and Jane McIntosh Snyder. *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*. New Haven,CT: Yale University Press, 1989.
Maas, Paul Marie. *Étude sur les sources de la Passion du Palatinus*. Tiel: St. Maarten, 1942.
MacCormack, Sabine. *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981.
Macy, Gary. *The Theologies of the Eucharist In the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c. 1080 – c. 1220*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
Magnin, M. Charles. *Les origines du théâtre Moderne*. Paris: Hachette, 1838. Reprint, Paris: Éditions d'Aujourd' hui, 1981.
Magoulias, H. J. "Bathhouse, inn, tavern, prostitution and the stage as seen in the lives of the saints of the sixth and seventh centuries." *Ἐπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 38 (1971): 233-252.
Mahr, August. *Relations of Passion Plays to St. Ephrem the Syrian*. Columbus, OH: The Wartburg Press, 1942.
________. *The Cyprus Passion Cycle*. Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1947.
Mainstone, Rowland J. *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturty of Justinian's Great Church*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988.
Majeska, George P. "Notes on the Archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 32 (1978): 299-308.
________. *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1984.
Malloy, Margaret E. *Libanius and the Dancer*. New York: Olms-Wiedmann, 1996.
Maloney, George A. *A History of Orthodox Theology since 1453*. Belmont, MA: Nordland Publishing Company, 1976.
Maltese, E. V. "Sulle tracce dello 'spettacolo sacro' a Bisanzio." In *Da Bisanzio a San Marco: Musica e Liturgia*, Giulio Cattin ed., 33-42. Venice: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1997.
Mango, Cyril. *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312-1453: Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972. Reprint, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
________. "On the History of the Templon and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople." *Zograf* 10 (1979): 40-43.
________. *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.

________. "Daily Life in Byzantium." *Jahrbuch der Őesterreichischen Byzantinistik* 31/1 (1981): 337-353.

________. "St. Michael and Attis." *Δελτίον Χριστιανκής Ἀρχαεολογικής Ἑταιρείας* 12 (1984): 39-62.

________ and Ahmet Ertung. *Hagia Sophia: A Vision for Empires*. Istanbul: Ertug & Kocabiyik, 1997.

Mann, David. "The Roman Mime and Medieval Theatre." *Theatre Notebook* 46 (1992): 135-143.

Marciniak, Przemysław. *Greek Drama in Byzantine Times*. Katowice, PL: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2004.

Marion, Jean-Luc. *God Without Being: Hors-Texte*. Translated by Thomas A. Carlson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Markus, R. A. *The End of Ancient Christianity*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Marrou, Henri. *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (The History of Education in Antiquity). 3rd ed. Paris: Seuil, 1955.

Martin, Edward James. *A History of the Iconoclastic Controversy*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1930. Reprint: New York, Macmillan, 1978.

Mateos, Juan. *La Célébration de la Parole dans la Liturgie Byzantine* (The Service of the Word in the Byzantine Liturgy). Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1971.

Mathew, Gervase. *Byzantine Aesthetics*. New York: Viking Press, 1964.

Mathews, Thomas F. *Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy*. University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971.

________. *Byzantium: From Antiquity to the Renaissance*. New York: Harry F. Abrams, Inc., 1998.

Mathiesen, Thomas J. *Apollo's Lyre: Greek Music and Music Theory in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Mathisen, Ralph W., ed. *People, Personal Expression, and Social Relations in Late Antiquity*. 2 vols. Ann Arbor, MI: Univeristy of Michigan Press, 2003.

McCormick, Michael. *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

McGee, Timothy J. "Ornamental' Neumes and Early Notation." *Performance Practice Review* 9 (1996): 39-65.

________. *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style according to the Treatises*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

McGinn, Thomas A. J. *The Economy of Prostitution in the Roman World: A Study of Social History & the Brothel*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2004.

McMullen, Ramsay. *Christianity and Paganism in the Fourth to Eighth Centuries*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.

________. *Christianizing the Roman Empire, A.D. 100-400*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984.

Medvedev, I. P. "The so-called *θέατρα* as a form of communication of the Byzantine intellectuals in the 14th and 15th centuries." In in *Ἡ Ἐπικοινωνία στὸ Βυζάντιο· Πρακτικά τοῦ Β΄ Διεθνοῦς Συμποσίου, 4-6 Ὀκτόβριου 1990* (Communication in Byzantium: Proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium, October 4-6, 1990), ed. N. G. Moschonas, 227-235. Athens: Κέντρο Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν/E. I. E., 1993.

Meijering, Roos. *Literary and rhetorical theories in Greek scholia*. Groningen: E. Forsten, 1987.

Meyendorff, John. "Notes sur l'influence dionysienne en Orient (Notes on the influence of [Pseudo] Dionysus in the Orient)" *Studia Patristica*, vol. 2: *Papers presented to the Second International Conference on Patristic Studies held at Christ Church, Oxford*, ed. Kurt Aland and F. L. Cross, 2.547-552. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957.

________. *Introduction à l'Étude de Gregoire Palamas* (An Introduction to the Study of Gregory Palamas). Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1959.

________. *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1974.

Millet, Gabriel. *Monuments Byzantins de Mistra*. 2 vols. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1910.

Mirow, Mathew C. and Kathleen A. Kelley. "Laws on Religion from the *Theodosian* and *Justinianic Codes*." In *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, ed. Richard Valantasis, 263-274. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Molloy, Margaret E. *Libanius and the Dancers*. New York: Olms-Weidmann, 1996.

Momigliano, Arnaldo, ed. *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963.

Mommsen, August. *Athenae Christianae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1868.

Moran, Neil K. *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986.

________. "Byzantine castrati." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 11.2 (2002): 99-112.

Mount Athos. *Selection of Orthodox Chants Performed by Mount Athos Monks*. Sony SK60247, 1997. Compact Disk.

Müller, Mogens. *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint*. Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.

Mullett, Margaret. "Rhetoric, theory and the imperative of performance: Byzantium and now." In *Rhetoric in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-fifth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Exeter College, University of Oxford, March 2001*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, 151-170. Burlington, VT: Variorum, 2003.

Murray, Robert. "Aramaic and Syriac Dispute-Poems and their Connections." *Studia Aramaica* 4 (1995): 157-187.

Murray, Timothy, ed. *Mimesis, Masochism, & Mime: The Politics of Theatricality in Contemporary French Thought*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Myrsiades, Kostas and Linda S. Myrsiades. *The Karagiozis: Heroic Performance in Greek Shadow Theater*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1988.

Nalpantes, D. "Τό Βυζαντίνο Θέατρο." *Ἀρχαιολογία* 12 (1984): 44-52.

Neiiendam, Klaus. *The Art of Acting in Antiquity: Iconographical Studies in Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine Theatre*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1992.

Newbigin, Nerida. "Art and Drama in Fifteenth Century Florence." *The Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 18 (1996): 1-22.

________. *Feste d'Oltrarno: Plays in Churches in Fifteenth-Century Florence*. Vol. 1. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1996.

Nicol, Donald M. *Studies in Late Byzantine History and Prosopography*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1986.

________. *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261-1453*, 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Nicoll, Allardyce. *Masks, Mimes and Miracles: Studies in the Popular Theatre*. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1963.

Niederle, Lubor. *Manuel de L'Antiquité Slave*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926.

Obolensky, Dimitri. *Byzantium and the Slavs: Collected Studies*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1971.

________. *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500-1453*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.

Ogden, Dunbar H. "Set Pieces and Special Effects in the Liturgical Drama." *The Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 18 (1996): 76-88.

________. *The Staging of Drama in the Medieval Church*. Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2002.

Ogilvy, J. D. A. "Mimi, Scurrae, Histriones: Entertainers of the Early Middle Ages." *Speculum* 38 (1963): 603-619.

Ostrogorsky, George. *History of the Byzantine State*. Translated by Joan Hussey. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1969.

Ovadiah, A. "Gaza." In *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. Michael Avi-Yonah, 2.408-417. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1976.

Pallen, Thomas A. *Vasari on Theatre*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999.

Panayotakis, Costas. "Baptism and Crucifixion on the Mimic Stage." *Mnemosyne* 50 (1997): 302-319.

Papaggelos, Ioakim, ed. *The Holy and Great Monastery of Vatopaidi: Tradition-History-Art*. 2 vols. Mount Athos, 1998.

Papathanasiou, Ioannis. "The Dating of the Sticherarion EBE 883." *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 66 (1996): 35-41.

________ and Nikolaos Boukas. "Early Diastematic Notation in Greek Christian Hymnographic Texts of Coptic Origin: A Reconsideration of the Source Material." In *Paleobyzantine Notations III: Acta of the Congress held at*

Hermen Castle, The Netherlands, in March 2001, ed. Gerda Wolfram: 1-25. Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2004.

Pasquato, O. *Gli spettacoli in S. Giovanni Crisostomo, Paganesimo e Cristianesimo ad Antiochia e Constantinopoli nel IV secolo*. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalum Studiorum, 1976.

Patrich, Joseph. "Herod's Theatre in Jerusalem: A New Proposal." *Israel Excavation Journal* 53 (2002): 231-239.

Pauly, A. et al. *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 49 vols. Stuttgart; Munich, 1894-1978.

Payne, Robert and Nikita Romanoff. *Ivan the Terrible*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1975.

Petit, P. *Libanius et la vie municipale à Anthioche au IVe siècle aprés J.-C.*. Paris: P. Guenther, 1955.

Pickard-Cambridge, Arthur, Sir. *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1927. Reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

________. *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946.

________. *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*, ed. J. Gould and D. M. Lewis. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Pintacuda, Mario. *La Musica nella Tragedia Graeca*. Cefalú: Lorenzo Misuraca Editore, 1978.

Plorites, Marios. *Τό Θέατρο στό Βυζάντιο* (Theatre in Byzantium). Athens: Εκδόσεις Καστανιώτη, 1999.

Pohlmann, Egert and Martin L. West, eds. *Documents of Ancient Greek Music: Extant Melodies and Fragments edited and transcribed with commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Pontani, Anna. "Firenze nella Fonti Greche del Concilio (Florence in Greek sources for the Council)." In *Firenze e il Concilio del 1439* (Florence and the Council of 1439), ed. Paolo Viti, 753-812. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1994.

Potter, D.S. and D. J. Mattingly, eds. *Life, Death, and Entertainment in the Roman Empire*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1999.

Powers, Harold, ed. *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Price, S. R. F. *Ritual and Power: The Roman Imperial Court in Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Puchner, Walter. "Τό Βυζαντινό Θέατρο." *Ἐπετηρίς τοῦ Κεντροῦ Ἐπιστημωνικῶν Σπουδῶν* 11 (1981-1982): 169-274.

________. "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der greichischen Patristik und ekkelsiastischer Synodalverordnungen: Quellenkritische Anmerkungen aus theaterwissenschaftlicher Sicht." *Maske und Kothurn* 29 (1983): 311-317.

________. "Zum 'Theater" in Byzanz. Eine Zwischenbilanz." In *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon, 11-16. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1990.

________. *Akkommodationsfragen: Einzelbeispiele zum paganen Hintergrund von Elementen den frühkirchlichen und mittelalterlichen Sakraltradition und Volksfrömmigkeit*. Munich: Tudur, 1997.

________. *Ὁ Μίτος τῆς Ἀριαδνῆς· Δέκα Θεατρολόγικα Μελετήματα*

(Ariadne's Thread: Ten Studies on the Theatre). Athens: Kollarou, 2001.
________. , "Acting in the Byzantine theatre: Evidence and Problems." In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. Pat Easterling and Edith Hall, 304-324. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
________. "Jesuit Theatre on the Islands of the Aegean Sea." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 21 (2003): 207-222.
________. *Ἡ Κύπρος τῶν Σταυροφορῶν καί τό Θρησκεύτικο Θέατρο τοῦ Μεσαιώνα* (Cyprus during the Crusades, and the Sacred Theatre of the Middle Ages). Leukosia: Κέντρο Μελετῶν Ἱεράς Μονῆς Κυκκοῦ, 2004.
Raastad, Jørgen. *Intonation Formulas and Modal Structures in Byzantine Musica Manuscripts*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1966.
________. "The Hagiopolites: A Byzantine Treatise on Musical Theory." *Cahiers de l'Institute du Moyen-Ăge Grec et Latin* 45 (1983).
________. "Compositional Devices in Byzantine Chant." In *From Idea to Sound: Proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium Held at Castle Nieborow in Poland, September 4-5, 1985*, ed. Milos Velimirovic, 59-76. Krakow: Wydano Nakladem Fundacji Zjednoczonej Europy, 1993.
Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art Chrétien*, vol. 2, *Iconographie de la Bible; Ancien Testament*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956. Reprint, Leichtenstein: 1979.
Reich, Hermann. *Der Mimus: Ein literar-entwickelungsgeschichtlichen Versuch* (Thte Mime: an essay on the literature of its historical development). Berlin: Weidmann, 1903.
Reich, Ronny and Ya'akov Billig. "A Group of Theatre Seats Discovered near the South-Western Corner of the Temple Mount." *Israel Excavation Journal* 50:3-4 (2000): 175-184.
Reinach, M.S. "Un Mime Byzantin." *Revue des Études grecques* 32 (1919): 433-442.
Reinelt, Janelle G., and Joseph R. Roach, eds. *Critical Theory and Performance*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
Reynolds, Joyce and Robert Tannenbaum. *Jews and God-Fearers at Aphrodisias*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Philological Society, 1987.
Richter, Lucas. "Fragen der spätgriechisch-byzantinischen Musiktheorie: Die Erforschung der byzantinischen Musik (Questions on Late Greek & Byzantine Music Theory: the Investigation of Byzantine Music)." In *Byzantinische Beitrage*, ed. J. Irmscher, 187-230. Berlin, 1964.
Ringrose, Kathryn M. *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
Roach, Joseph R. *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1993.
Robert, L. "Pantomimen im griechischen Orient." *Hermes* 65 (1930): 106-122.
Roccasalvo, Joan L. *The Plainchant Tradition of Southwestern Rus'*. Boulder, CO: East European Monographs, 1986.
Rogers, Guy MacLean. *The Sacred Identity of Ephesos: Foundation Myths of a Roman City*. New York: Routledge, 1991.
Roller, Duane W. *The Building Program of Herod the Great*. Berkeley: University

of California Press, 1998.
Romano, Roberto Romano, ed. *La Satira Byzantina dei secoli XI-XV* (Byzantine Satire in the 11th-15th centuries). Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, 1999.
Rossetto, Paola C. and Gioseppina P. Sartorio, eds. *Teatri Greci e Romani alle Origini del Linguiaggio Rappresentato (Greek and Roman Theatres).* 3 vols. Rome: SEAT, 1994-1996.
Roueché, Charlotte. *Performers and Partisans at Aphrodisias*. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1993.
________. "Images of Performance: New Evidence from Ephesus," in *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Pat Easterling and Edith Hall, eds., 254-281. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
________. "The Image of Victory: New Evidence from Ephesus." In *Travaux et Mémoires 14: Mélanges Gilbert Dagron*, 527-546. Paris: Association des Amis du Centre d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, 2002.
Ruggieri, Vincenzo, S. J. *Byzantine Religious Architecture (582-867): its History and Structural Elements*. Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 1991.
Runciman, Steven. *Byzantine Civilization*. New York: Longsmans, Greek and Co., 1933.
________. *The Byzantine Theocracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
Sachau, Eduard. *Die Handscriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, vol. 23: *Verzeichniss der Syrischen Handscriften*. Berlin, 1899.
Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Random House, 1979.
Salzman, Michele Renee. *On Roman Time: The Codex-Calendar of 354 and the Rhythms of Urban Live in Late Antiquity*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.
Sathas, Constantine. "Sur les commentaries byzantins relatifs aux comédies de Ménandre, aux poêmes d'Homère, etc." *Annuaires de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques en France* 9 (1875): 187-222.
________. *Ἱστορικόν Δοκίμιον περί τοῦ Θεάτρου καί τῆς Μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντινῶν, ἤτοι ἐισαγωγή ἐις τό Κρητικόν Θεάτρον* (Historical Essay on the Theatre and Music of the Byzantines, or An Introduction to the Cretan Theatre). Venice, 1878. Reprint, Athens: Διονυσίου Νότη Καραβία, 1994.
Schechner, Richard. *Performance Theory*. Revised Edition. New York: Routledge, 1988.
________. *The Future of Ritual: Writings on Culture and Performance*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
________. "Invasions Friendly and Unfriendly: The Dramaturgy of Direct Theater." In *Critical Theory and Performance*, ed. Janelle G. Reinelt and Joseph R. Roach, 88-106. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992.
Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1, *Christ's Incarnation-Childhood-Baptism-Temptation-Transfiguration-Works and Miracles*.

Translated by Janet Seligman. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971.

Schnusenberg, Christine Catharina. *The Relationship Between the Church and the Theatre: Exemplified by Selected Writings of the Church Fathers and by Liturgical Texts Until Amalarius of Metz – 775-852 A.D.* New York: University Press of America, 1988.

Segal, Arthur. *Theaters in Roman Palestine and Provincia Arabia*. New York: E. J. Brill, 1995.

________. *Architecture and the Theatre in Eretz Israel during the Roman and Byzantine Periods.* Haifa: University of Haifa, 1991.

Senelick, Laurence. *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981.

Ševčenko, Ivor. "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time." In *The Kariye Djami*, vol. 4, *Studies in the Art of the Kariye Djami and Its Intellectual Background*, ed. Paul A. Underwood, 17-84. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975.

________. *Society and Intellectual Life in Late Byzantium*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1981.

Ševčenko, Nancy Patterson. "Icons in the Liturgy." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 45 (1991): 45-57.

Slater, William J. "The Pantomime Tiberius Iulius Apolaustus." *Greek Roman and Byzantine* Studies 36 (1995): 263-292.

________, ed. *Roman Theater and Society: E. Togo Salmon Papers I*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Slonim, Mark. *Russian Theatre from the Empire to the Soviets*. New York: Collier Books, 1962.

Smith, Mahlon H, III. *And Taking Bread . . . Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054*. Paris: Éditions Beauchesne, 1978.

Smith, R. R. R. and Kenan T. Erim, eds. *Aphrodisias Papers 2: The theatre, a sculptor's workshop, philosophers, and coin-types*. Ann Arbor, MI: 1991.

________. *The Monument of C. Julius Zoilos*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1993.

Sokolov, Y.M. *Russian Folklore*. Translated by Catherine Ruth Smith. Detroit, MI: Folklore Associates, 1971.

Spicq, Ceslas. *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*. Vol. 3, *παι – πσευ.* Translated by James D. Earnest. New York: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994.

Stathes, Gregory T. *Η Εξήγησις τῆς Παλαιάς βυζαντινῆς Σημειογραφίας* (The Explanation of Old Byzantine Written Signs). Athens, 1975.

________. "Summary: Ioannes Koukouzeles' "Method of Theseis" and its Application." In *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform*, ed. Christian Troelsgård, 203-204. Athens: Danish Institute, 1997.

Stern, Henri. *Le Calendrier de 354: Étude sur son texte et ses Illustrations* (The Calendar of 354: A Study of its text and illustrations). Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1953.

Sticca, Sandro. *The Latin Passion Play: Its Origins and Development*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1970.

________. “The *Christos Paschon* and the Byzantine Theatre.” *Comparative Drama* 8 (1974): 13-44.
Stommel, Edouard. *Beiträge zur Ikonographie der konstantinischen Sarkophagplastik* (Conributions to the Iconography of Constantinian Sarcophagus Sculpture). Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1954.
Strunk, Oliver W. “The Tonal System of Byzantine Music.” *Musical Quarterly* 28 (1942): 190-204.
________. “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 9-10 (1955-1956): 177-202.
________, ed. *Source Readings in Music History*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1965.
________. *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1977.
Sturgeon, Mary. *Sculpture: The Reliefs from the Theater*. Corinth 9.2. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1977.
________. *Sculpture: The Assemblage from the Theater*. Corinth 9.3. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2004.
Swoboda, Marina. ““The Furnace Play” and the development of Liturgical Drama in Russia.” *The Russian Review* 61:2 (2002): 220-234.
Symes, Carol. “The Appearance of Early Vernacular Plays: Forms, Functions, and the Future of Medieval Theater.” *Speculum* 77 (2002): 778-831.
Taft, Robert F. *The Great Entrance: a History of the Transfer of Gifts and other Preanaphoral Rites of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostomos*. 2nd Edition. Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1978.
________. “The Pontifical Liturgy of the Great Church according to a twelfth-century diataxis in codex British Museum Add. 34060.” Parts 1 and 2. *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 45: 279-307; 46 (1980): 89-124.
________. “The Liturgy of the Great Church: an initial synthesis of structure and interpretation on the eve of Iconoclasm.” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 34-35 (1980-1981): 45-75.
________. *The Byzantine Rite: a Short History*. Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992.
________. *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond*. Brookfield, VT: Variorum, 1995.
________. “Ecumenical Scholarship and the Catholic-Orthodox epiclesis dispute.” *Ostkirchliche Studien* 45 (1996): 201-226. Reprint: *Divine Liturgies – Human Problems in Byzantium, Armenia, Syria and Palestine*. Burlington, VT: Variorum, _____.
________. *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding*, 2nd ed. Rome: Pontifical Oriental Institute, 1997.
________. *The Precommunion Rites*. Rome: Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, 2000.
________. “The Decline of Communion in Byzantium and the Distancing of the Congregation from the Liturgical Action: Cause, Effect, Neither?” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (forthcoming).
Taplin, Oliver. *Greek Tragedy in Action*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
Tarkovsky, Andrei. *Andrei Rublev*. Produced by “Mosfilm” Studio, Directed by

Andrei Tarkovsky. 185 min. Corinth Films, 1992. Videocassette.

Teteriatnikov, Natalia. "Hagia Sophia, Constantinople: Religious Images and their Functional Context after Iconoclasm." *Zograf* 30 (2004-2005): 9-19.

Theocaridis, Georgios I. *Beiträge zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Profantheaters im IV. und V. Jahrhundert, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Predigten des Johannes Chrysostomos, Patriarchen von Konstantinopel* (Contributions towards a history of the Profane Byzantine Theatre in the 4th and 5th centuries, principally on the basis of the Sermons of John Chrysostom, Patriarch of Constantinople). Thessalonica, 1940.

Theodorou, Evangelos. "La Danse sacrée dans le culte Chrétien et plus spécialement dans la famille liturgique Byzantine (Sacred dance in Christian cult, most especially in the Byzantine liturgical family)." In *Gestes et Paroles Dans les Diverses Familles Liturgiques* (Gestures and Discourses among Diverse Liturgical Families), 285-300. Rome: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano, 1978.

Thibaut, J.-B. *L'Ancienne Liturgie Gallicane* (The Ancient Gallican Liturgy). Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1929.

Thompson, E. M. and R. C. Jebb, eds. *Facsimile of the Laurentian Manuscript of Sophocles*. London: Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, 1885.

Tierney, J. J. "Ancient Dramatic Theory and its Survival in the "Apologia Mimorum" of Choricius of Gaza." In *9th International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, 3.259-274. Athens: Myrtides, 1958.

Tillyard, H.J.W. "The Modes in Byzantine Music." Annual of the British School at Athens 22 (1916-1918): 133-156.

________. *Byzantine Music and Hymnography*. London: The Faith Press, Ltd., 1923. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976.

________. "Signatures and Cadences of the Byzantine Modes." *Annals of the British School at Athens* 26 (1923-1925): 78-87.

________. *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Musical Notation*. Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1935.

________. "Medieval Byzantine Music." *Musical Quarterly* 23 (1937): 201-209.

________. *The Hymns of the Octoechos*, 2 vols. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1940-1949.

________. *Twenty Canons from the Trinity Hirmologion*. Boston: The Byzantine Institute, Inc., 1952.

________. *The Hymns of the Pentecostarium*. Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1960.

Tinnefeld, F. "Zum profaner Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691) (On the profane Mime in Byzantium after the Verdict of Trullo)." *Byzantina* 6 (1974): 321-343.

Touliatos, Diane H. "The Byzantine Amamos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." Ph.D. diss.,Ohio State University, 1979.

________. *The Byzantine Amamos Chant of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*. Thessalonica: Patriarchikon Idryma Paterikon Meleton, 1984.

________. "Byzantine Music Since 1975." *Acta Musicologica* 60 (1988): 205-228.

________. "Nonsense Syllables in the Ancient Greek and Byzantine Traditions." *Journal of Musicology* 7.2 (1989): 231-243.

________. "The Teretism Tradition in Ancient Greece and Byzantium." In *Proceedings of the International Music Symposium on Ancient, Byzantine, and Contemporary Greek Music, Delphi, Greece, Sept., 1986, 403-415.* Athens: Delphi European Cultural Center, 1996.
________. "The Status of Byzantine Music through the Twenty-First Century." In *Byzantium: Identity, Image, Influence*, ed.Karsten Fledelius, 449-463. Copenhagen: The University of Copenhagen, 1996.
________. "Kassia," Grove Music Online, ed. L. Macy (Accessed 2/28/2006), http://www.grovemusic.com.
Travlos, John. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. New York: Praeger, 1971.
Treadgold, Warren. *A History of the Byzantine State and Society*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997.
Trempelas, P.S. , *Ἐκλογή Ἑλληνικές Ὀρθοδοξοῦ Ὑμνογραφίας* (A Selection of Greek Orthodox Hymnography). Athens, 1949.
Troelsgård, Christian, ed. *Byzantine Chant: Tradition and Reform. Acts of a Meeting held at the Danish Institute at Athens, 1993*. Aarhus, DN: Aarhus University Press, 1997.
________. "Musical Notation and Oral Transmission of Byzantine Chant." *Classica et Medievalia* 50 (1999): 249-257.
________. "Tradition and Transformation in Late Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Chant." In *Interaction and Isolation in Late Byzantine Culture: Papers read at a Colloquium Held at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 1-5 December, 1999*, ed. Jan Olof Rosenquist: 158-166. *Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul Transactions* 13 (____).
Tuilier, André. "La datation et l'attribution du *Christos Paschon* et l'art du centon." In *Actes du VIe Congrés International d'Études Byzantines*, vol. 1, 403-409. Paris, 1950.
Turner, E. G. *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
Turner, Victor. *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1982.
_______. "Play and Drama: The Horns of a Dilemma." In *The World of Play: Proceedings of the 7th Annual Meeting of the Association of the Anthropological Study of Play*, ed. Frank E. Manning, 217-224. West Point, NY: Leisure Press, 1983.
________. *Anthropology of Performance*. New York: PAJ Publications, 1986.
________. "Are there Universals in Performance?" In *By Means of Performance: Intercultural Studies of Theatre and Ritual*, Richard Schechner and Willa Appel eds., 8-18. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
Turyn, Alexander. *The Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Aeschylus*. New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences, 1943.
________. *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Sophocles*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1952.
________. *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1957.
Underwood, Paul A. *The Kariye Djami*. 4 vols. New York: Pantheon Books, 1966.

Vacalopoulos, Apostolos E. *A History of Thessaloniki*. Translated by T. F. Carney. Thessalonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1963.

________. *History of Macedonia 1354-1833*. Translated by Peter Megann. Thessalonica: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1973.

Van de Vorst, C. Van de Vorst. "Une Passion inédite de S. Porphyre le mime (an unedited Passion of St. Porphyrius the Mime)." *Analecta Bollandiana* 29 (1910): 258-275.

Varneke, B. V. *History of the Russian Theatre: Seventeenth Through Nineteenth Century*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1951.

Vasiliev, A. A. *History of the Byzantine Empire 324-1453*. 2 vols. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964.

Vasmer, Max, ed. *Russisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Russian Etymological Dictionary). Vol. 2, *L-Ssuda*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag, 1955.

Velimirović, Miloš M. "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia." *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 16 (1962): 351-385.

________. , "Byzantine Composers in MS Athens 2406." In *Essays Presented to Egon Wellesz*, ed. Jack Westrup, 7-18. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

________. "Reflections on Music and Musicians in Byzantium." In *TO ΈΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΝ: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, vol. 1, *Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium*, ed. John S. Landon and others, 451-463. New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1993.

________, ed. *From Idea to Sound: Proceedings of the International Musicological Symposium Held at Castle Nieborow in Poland, September 4-5, 1985*. Krakow: Wydano Nakladem Fundacji Zjednoczonej Europy, 1993.

________.

Ventrone, Paola, "“Una visione miracolosa e indicibile”: nuove considerazioni sulle feste di quartiere ("A miraculous and indescibable vision:" new thoughts on the provincial theatre." In *Teatro e Spettacolo nella Firenze dei Medici: modelli dei luoghi teatrali* (Theatre and Spectacle in the Medici's Florence: models of theatrical spaces), ed. Elvira Garbero Zorzi and Mario Sperenzi. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2001.

Vernadsky, George. *The Origins of Russia.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975.

Vernant, Jean-Pierre. *Mortals and Immortals: Collected Essays*. Edited by Froma I. Zeitlin. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Vince, Ronald W. *Ancient and Medieval Theatre: A Historiographical Handbook*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984.

________. *A Companion to the Medieval Theatre*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Vinson, Martha. "Rhetoric and writing strategies in the ninth century." In *Rhetoric in Byzantium*, ed. Elizabeth Jeffreys, 9-22. London: Ashgate, 2003.

Vivilakes, Iosef. "("Ἡ Θεατρική Ὁρολογία στούς Πατέρες τῆς Ἐκκλησίας· Συμβολή στή Μελέτη τῆς Σχεσέως Ἐκκλησίας καί Θεάτρου (Theatrical Terminology among the Church Fathers: A Contribution to the Study of the Connection between the Church and the Theatre)." Ph.D. diss, University of Athens, 1996.

________. *Θεατρική Άναπαραστάση στό Βυζάντιο καί στή Δύση* (Theatrical Representation in Byzantium and the West). Athens: Γουλάνδρη-Χόρη, 2003.
Vogt, Albert. "Etudes sur le Theatre Byzantin I" (Studies in Byzantine Theatre, Part I). *Byzantion* 46 (1931): 37-74.
________. "Etudes sur le Theatre Byzantin II" (Studies in Byzantine Theatre, Part II). *Byzantion* 46 (1931): 623-640.
________. "Theatre a Byzance et Dans l'Empire du IVe au XIIIe Siecle" (Theatre in Byzantium and in the Empire from the 4th to the 13th Century). *Revue des Questions Historiques* 115 (1931): 257-296.
Volbach, Wolfgang Fritz. *Early Christian Art*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1962.
Walter, Christopher. *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church*. London: Variorum Publications Ltd., 1982.
Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *From Classical Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Urban Public Building in Northern and Central Italy AD 300-850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.
Warner, Elizabeth A. *The Russian Folk Theatre*. Paris: Mouton, 1977.
________. "Work and Play: Some Aspects of Folk Drama in Russia." In *The Drama of the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays*, ed. Clifford Davidson, C.J. Gianakaris, and John H. Stroupe, 353-370. New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1982.
Weiss, Zeev. "Adopting a Novelty: the Jews and the Roman Games in Palestine." In T*he Roman and Byzantine Near East*, vol. 2, *Some Recent Archaeological Research*, ed. J. H. Humphrey, 23-49. Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 1999.
Weissmann, Werrner. "Gelasinos von Heliopolis, ein Schauspieler-Martyrer (Gelasinos of Heliopolis, an actor-martyr." *Analecta Bollandiana* 93 (1975): 39-66.
Well, Colin. Review of *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*, by Kathryn M. Ringrose. *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2:12 (2004), http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/.
Wellesz, Egon. "The Nativity Drama of the Byzantine Church." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 37 (1947): 145-151.
________. "Early Byzantine Neumes." *Musical Quarterly* 38 (1952), 68-79.
________, ed. *Ancient and Oriental Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.
________. *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2nd ed. New York: Clarendon Press, 1961. Reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
Wenber, Antoine. *Jean Chrysostome: Huit catéchéses baptismales inédites*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1957.
Werner, Eric. *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millenium*. 2 vols. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1984.
West, Martin L. *Ancient Greek Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
White, Andrew W. "The Jester as Historian: On the Remarkable Career of the Russian *Skomorokh*." *TEATPЪ* 1 (2000): 135-151.

________. "On Actors as Honest Working Stiffs: Selections from a new Translation of Choricius of Gaza's "Defense of the Mimes"." *Basilissa* 2 (forthcoming).
________. "The Office of the Three Children: New Observations and Approaches." In *Performing Byzantium: Proceedings of the 39th Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. Margaret Mullet (forthcoming).
White, Lloyd Michael. "*Domus Ecclesiae – Domus Dei*: Adaptation and Development in the Setting for Early Christian Assembly." Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1982.
White, Michael L. "Urban Development and Social Change in Imperial Ephesos." In *Ephesos Metropolis of Asia: An Interdisciplinary Approach to its Archaeology, Religion, and Culture*, ed. Helmut Koester, 27-79. Valley Forge, PA: Harvard Theological Studies, 1995.
Whittow, Mark. *The Making of Byzantium, A.D. 600-1025*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
Wiecynski, Joseph L., ed. *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, 60 vols. Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1976-1994.
Wiemken, H. *Der griechische Mimus*. Bremen, 1972.
Wiles, David. *Tragedy in Athens: Performance Space and Theatrical Meaning*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
Williams, Edward V. and Christian Troelsgård. "Koukouzeles." In *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy. http://www.grovemusic.com.
Wilson, N. G. *Scholars of Byzantium*. Rev. ed. Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1996.
________. "The manuscripts of Greek classics in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance." *Classica et Medievalia* 47 (1996): 379-389.
Wilson, Peter. "The Musicians Among the Actors." In *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, ed. Pat Easterlng and Edith Hall, 39-68. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
Winkler, Gabriele. *Studies in Early Christian Liturgy and Its Context*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1997.
Winnington-Ingram, R. P. *Mode in Ancient Greek Music*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkat, 1968.
Wood, John Turtle. *Discoveries at Ephesus, Including the Site and Remains of the Great Temple of Diana*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1877. Reprint: New York: Georg Olms, 1975.
Xydis, S. "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia." *The Art Bulletin* 29 (1947): 1-24.
Yenipinar, Halis and Seracettin Sahin. *Paintings of the Dark Church*. Istanbul: A Turizm Yayinlari, Ltd., 1998.
Young, Karl. *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. Oxford, 1933.
Zguta, Russell. *Russian Minstrels: A History of the Skomorokhi*. State College, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978.
________. "The *Skomorokhi* as Agents of Social Protest: Some Recent Interpretations." In *Folklorica: Festschrift for Felix J. Oinas*, ed. Denis Sinor, 341-348. Bloomington, IN: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1982.